

Pelosi	Saxton	Thompson (CA)
Peterson (MN)	Schakowsky	Thompson (MS)
Peterson (PA)	Schiff	Thornberry
Petri	Schrock	Thune
Phelps	Scott	Thurman
Pickering	Serrano	Tiahrt
Platts	Shaw	Tiberi
Pombo	Shays	Tierney
Pomeroy	Sherman	Towns
Portman	Sherwood	Trafigant
Price (NC)	Shimkus	Turner
Pryce (OH)	Shows	Udall (CO)
Putnam	Shuster	Udall (NM)
Quinn	Simmons	Upton
Radanovich	Simpson	Velázquez
Rahall	Skeen	Visclosky
Ramstad	Skelton	Vitter
Rangel	Slaughter	Walden
Regula	Smith (MI)	Walsh
Rehberg	Smith (TX)	Wamp
Reynolds	Smith (WA)	Waters
Riley	Snyder	Watkins (OK)
Rivers	Solis	Watson (CA)
Rodriguez	Souder	Watt (NC)
Roemer	Spratt	Watts (OK)
Rogers (KY)	Stearns	Waxman
Rogers (MI)	Stenholm	Weiner
Ros-Lehtinen	Strickland	Weldon (PA)
Ross	Stump	Weller
Rothman	Stupak	Whitfield
Roukema	Sununu	Wicker
Roybal-Allard	Sweeney	Wilson (NM)
Rush	Tanner	Wilson (SC)
Ryan (WI)	Tauscher	Wolf
Sabo	Tauzin	Woolsey
Sanchez	Taylor (MS)	Wu
Sanders	Taylor (NC)	Wynn
Sandlin	Terry	Young (FL)
Sawyer	Thomas	

NAYS—30

Akin	Hefley	Royce
Bartlett	Hostettler	Ryun (KS)
Cantor	Jones (NC)	Schaffer
Chabot	Kerns	Sensenbrenner
Cox	McInnis	Sessions
Crane	Otter	Shadegg
Duncan	Paul	Smith (NJ)
Flake	Pence	Tancredo
Goodlatte	Pitts	Toomey
Hayworth	Rohrabacher	Weldon (FL)

NOT VOTING—11

Baker	Hastings (FL)	Stark
Clement	Luther	Wexler
Cubin	Meek (FL)	Young (AK)
Hall (OH)	Reyes	

□ 1532

Mr. GOODLATTE and Mr. PENCE changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mrs. KELLY, Mr. DOGGETT and Mr. THOMAS changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

So the conference report was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING LEGISLATION TO BE CONSIDERED UNDER SUSPENSION OF THE RULES TODAY

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the notice requirements of House Resolution 314, I announce that the following measures will be considered under suspension of the rules on Wednesday, December 19, 2001: H.R. 2561 and H.R. 2751.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the conference report accompanying the bill (H.R. 2506) making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2002, and for other purposes, and that I may include tabular and extraneous material.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. THORNBERRY). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 2506, FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 2002

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to the previous order of the House, I call up the conference report accompanying the bill (H.R. 2506) making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2002, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of today, the conference report is considered as having been read.

(For conference report and statement, see prior proceedings of the House of today.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE).

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I am privileged to bring before the House today the conference report on H.R. 2506, making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for fiscal year 2002. I want to also pay special thanks today to my very able ranking minority member, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY). She has been a full partner throughout this process, and I am very grateful for the support and the participation that she has provided to bring this bipartisan bill before the House today as a conference report.

It is important to note that this bill enjoyed widespread support when it came before the House the first time. We approved the bill on July 24 by a vote of 381 to 46, really unprecedented for a foreign operations bill. Senate passage occurred 3 months later, on October 24, by a vote of 96 to two. I think these votes in both the House and the Senate demonstrate the importance that most Members in both bodies at-

tach to fulfilling our foreign obligations and assisting our friends and allies abroad.

As I stated when I brought the bill to the floor earlier this year, I had three priorities for this legislation: first was to reverse the spread of infectious diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria; second, encouraging economic growth through open trade and transparent laws in other countries; and, third, improving the accountability of the agencies that are funded by this bill. This conference agreement represents important progress in all three areas.

The conference agreement appropriates \$15.346 billion in new discretionary budget authority. This figure represents an even split between the House and Senate allocations. It is \$178 million above the House level, \$178 million below the Senate-passed bill. Three major reasons for the increase are the needs to restore a portion of the administration's cut to the Export-Import Bank; to provide new funding for the Andean Counterdrug Initiative; and to intensify our efforts to combat HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases.

For the Export-Import Bank, we restored \$138 million of the proposed reduction of \$232 million in the program funds of the bank. This level of funding will allow for loan authorizations estimated at \$10.6 billion, approximately \$1.4 billion higher than the current level.

Regarding the Andean Counterdrug Initiative, it is important to recall that a supplemental appropriation bill outside the boundaries of the subcommittee's fiscal year 2001 allocation funded the initial Plan Colombia adopted by Congress last year. Therefore, the \$625 million the conference report recommends for these activities is significantly above the \$154 million that was available in the regular 2001 appropriations act for these countries; hence, the requirement for more money for this initiative. I am disappointed that we could not provide a higher level for this important initiative. However, in the discussions that we had with the Senate on this matter, I often felt like I was a minority of one. We were able to provide the base funding of \$625 million, plus transfer authority to provide \$35 million in addition to these funds. That will allow for a total of \$660 million for this program in fiscal year 2002.

In addition, the conference report includes an amended version of the general provisions as proposed by the Senate that modifies the annual counter-narcotics certification process. I ask that the letter I received from the State Department dated December 14, 2001, supporting the recommendation of the conferees be included in the RECORD.

Over \$2.8 billion of the funds provided in this conference report will be made

available for military, economic, and refugee assistance for Israel. It is important that we pass this conference report as soon as possible, since Israel's economic assistance is a component of its fiscal year 2001 budget that expires at the end of December, this month, just a few days from now. Overall, the bill provides \$5.14 billion for the Middle East, including assistance to Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon.

Total funding for activities to combat HIV/AIDS in this bill is \$475 million, a very significant increase over the level of \$315 million provided in fiscal year 2001. Within that level, the conference agreement appropriates \$50 million for the international HIV/AIDS trust fund, as well as general authority to provide for an additional \$50 million, if warranted, from other sources in this bill and from prior year funds.

Together with \$100 million appropriated earlier this year in the supplemental appropriations act and \$100 million appropriated in the Labor-HHS bill which we just completed on the floor a few moments ago, we have fully met and exceeded the President's request of \$200 million in funding for the international fund to combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis. For bilateral assistance, no less than \$395 million should be available for HIV/AIDS programs, assuming that \$40 million is transferred to the proposed global fund. This amount exceeds the President's request by \$66 million and the level authorized in law by \$95 million. Some of the increase is for new programs in vulnerable countries such as Burma where little donor assistance is available to restrict the spread of AIDS.

Overall, for assistance programs managed solely by the Agency for International Development, the committee recommends a total of over \$3.5 billion, of which \$1.43 billion is for child survival and health programs. These totals include \$120 million for a grant to UNICEF. In addition, \$150 million is provided for basic education, an increase of \$47 million over the fiscal year 2001 level. Again, I want to congratulate the gentlewoman from New York for her persistence in ensuring that assistance for basic education receive a high priority in this year's conference agreement.

□ 1545

Many children around the world have a great deal to be thankful to the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) for.

For international financial institutions, the recommendation is \$1.17 billion, which is \$23 million over the 2001 level, but \$40 million below the request. The bill also completes funding for the Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative, with a final \$224 million, and provides an additional \$25 million for the Tropical Forest Debt Relief Act; \$5 million in new funds and \$20 million from

previous year balances. The President has called on the World Bank to dramatically increase the share of its funding for health and education in the poorest countries, but to do so with grants, rather than loans. Over the past few years, the committee has urged different administrations to adopt these policies, and I am pleased that President Bush has embraced them.

The conference report also includes language similar to that included in the bill that the House passed earlier this year regarding compliance by the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian Liberation Organization with their commitments to halt violence and terrorism. Language in the conference agreement specifies the PLO and Palestinian Authority should abide by the cease-fire brokered by CIA Director George Tenet. If they are not in substantial compliance, the Secretary of State should impose at least one of three sanctions: First, the closure of the Palestinian information office in Washington; second, the designation of the PLO or one or more of its constituent groups as a terrorist organization; and, third, the cutting off of all except humanitarian aid to the West Bank and Gaza.

The President is allowed to waive these restrictions if he determines it is in the national security interests of the United States. Many of my colleagues wanted to go further in sanctioning the Palestinians; others felt that any language might upset potential negotiations that are either underway or will be underway in the future. The conference compromise, I believe, is a good indication of Congressional intent. I think it sends the right message to the Palestinians: Comply with your commitments regarding the enunciation of terror and violence and no sanctions will be imposed. I also believe it gives the President and the Secretary of State additional leverage in their discussions with Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Authority.

The conference agreement also includes my proposal regarding the International Committee on the Red Cross. This otherwise noble institution has failed to admit the Magen David Adom Society of Israel to the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. The American Red Cross has courageously fought to get the Society admitted to the Red Cross Movement. They have withheld their dues to the Geneva headquarters of the International Red Cross for the past 2 years. I am proposing that the United States Government do the same, until the Society is fully able to participate in the activities of the International Red Cross.

The bill also includes an additional \$100 million to assist El Salvador in its recovery from two devastating earthquakes earlier this year. Many Mem-

bers of the House are interested in assuring that additional assistance is provided for our friends in El Salvador, and the conference agreement provides that at least \$100 million shall be made available for that purpose. The administrator of AID was in El Salvador last week and was able to make this announcement, and I can tell Members it was greeted with considerable satisfaction there.

For the International Fund for Ireland, we are recommending \$25 million. That is the same as last year, but it is \$5 million above the President's request. The program is designed to support the peace process in Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic of Ireland. Again, this is a matter that has strong support in the House and that the Senate did not address.

Our assistance program for Eastern Europe and the Balkans will receive \$621 million in this conference report, an increase of \$21 million over the fiscal year 2001 level. The major reason for the increase is the need to meet the last-minute requests of the administration for debt relief for Yugoslavia, which will assist the new democratic government of Serbia in its attempt to reform the economy of that country.

For the states of the former Soviet Union, funding would decline only slightly, from \$810 million to \$784 million. The committee continues its support to find a peaceful settlement in the Southern Caucasus region by providing \$90 million for both Armenia and Georgia. While the committee does not set aside a specific amount for Azerbaijan, it waives a statutory restriction on assistance to its government as it cooperates in the fight against global terrorism.

The committee supports the struggle for a better life by the people of the Ukraine. Under this bill, the Ukraine will continue to receive \$154 million, one of the largest single aid programs for any country on the globe.

Assistance for South and Southeast Asia is a relatively small part of our bill, but its importance is far more substantial than the number would indicate. Ongoing economic growth in health programs in India, the Philippines, Bangladesh and Indonesia provide the framework for subsequent investment by the private sector and multilateral development banks. The United States will participate in the effort to rebuild the Afghan economy, but substantial funds for that purpose have not yet been requested by the President, and so they are not included in this conference agreement.

For the second year, AID is encouraged to renew a basic education program in Pakistan. It is modest, but a very important start towards renewing a long-term economic assistance program in a country that has been seriously impacted by international terrorism.

The conference agreement also provides funding for several smaller programs that often do not get a lot of attention, including \$38 million for anti-terrorism assistance and \$40 million for humanitarian demining programs around the world.

The Peace Corps is another program that has made an enormous difference in the world over the last several decades, and it has very strong support in the House. We recognize its value and its importance by providing the full funding request of \$275 million.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I want to, once again, thank our ranking minority member, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) for her cooperation in developing this year's bill and in reaching a conference agreement. We have had our disagreements from time to time, but we have approached them in the spirit of finding answers to them. We were both committed to developing a bipartisan bill that addresses the key priorities of the administration, as well as the Members of the House, both majority and minority, and, of course, the Senate in this conference report. It has been a great pleasure to work with the gentlewoman this year, and I am very grateful to have had her as my ranking member.

Before we close, Mr. Speaker, I would be remiss if I did not say we could not be here today without the extraordinary help of the staff of this subcommittee and our personal staffs that make it possible. I am speaking of the clerk of our subcommittee, Charlie Flickner, our professional staff, John Shank, Alice Grant and Lori Maes. On the other side of the aisle, Mark Murray; and our personal staffs, Sean Mulvaney from my staff, and Beth Tritter from the staff of the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY). They have been extraordinary in their efforts to work together and to find the answers, and in making sure that this bill came to the floor in a timely fashion

and was one that can have strong bipartisan support.

Mr. Speaker, I thank all the members of the subcommittee for their invaluable assistance this year. I am proud that all the House conferees have signed this conference report, and I urge the entire House to vote in favor of this important legislation.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following for the RECORD:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, DC, December 14, 2001.

Hon. JIM KOBLE,

Chairman, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs, Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives.

DEAR CHAIRMAN KOLBE: This is in response to Mr. Mica's letter regarding proposed changes to the annual counter narcotics certification process. The general provision contained in the fiscal year 2002 Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations bill is a significant first step toward improving the current narcotics certification process. Moreover, it is important to remember that this provision to modify the certification process was negotiated, in good faith, by this Administration with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee under the leadership of then Chairman Helms.

We understand that the general provision contained in the final version of your bill would be applied on a worldwide basis and would place a premium on cooperation rather than confrontation with other governments. That cooperation is essential for combating international drug trafficking and traffickers, as well as combating international terrorism and terrorists.

Far from rendering meaningless the 15-year certification process or making it hard for us to fight illicit drugs and terrorism, the proposed legislation is a good measure of how far we have come since certifications began 15 years ago. At that time, we needed the blunt instrument of certification to get the attention of some governments. We are operating in a different world now, where the threat of international trafficking is better understood and where countries are more willing to work together to combat the problem.

The provision in the 2002 Foreign Operations bill retains the positive elements of

the current system by continuing to link the counternarcotics efforts of major illicit drug producing and drug-transit countries to their eligibility for most forms of U.S. assistance, while eliminating some of the aspects that have created tension in our bilateral relationships. This provision continues to require the President to evaluate major illicit drug producing or drug-transit countries in their efforts to adhere to the 1988 United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

The 2002 counternarcotics provision further reduces one source of friction with many countries that are designated as major illicit drug producing or drug-transit countries by reducing the period countries must wait before they are eligible to receive the full amount of U.S. assistance in any fiscal year. The provision still retains the President's authority to waive the imposition of sanctions if he determines and reports to the appropriate congressional committees that it is vital to the national interests of the United States. Only countries that the President designates as having failed in their counter-narcotics efforts and who do not receive a waiver would be eligible for most U.S. assistance provided under the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act in FY 2002.

Additionally, the 2002 language preserves the Department's annual *International, Narcotics Control Strategy Report* (INCSR), which is the single most important and complete survey anywhere of foreign drug control policies and practices.

The modification to the annual drug certification procedures contained in the general provisions of your bill provides that the new procedures would remain in place for one year, allowing the Department to monitor their effectiveness and to consider other options for the longer range during this period.

The Department is committed to combating the flow of illegal drugs into our country, particularly since the links between drug trafficking and international terrorism have been firmly established. We believe that the proposed modification to the current certification procedures will allow us to continue this important mission.

Sincerely,

PAUL B. KELLY,
*Assistant Secretary,
Legislative Affairs.*

FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS
APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 2002 (H.R. 2506)
(Amounts in thousands)

	FY 2001 Enacted	FY 2002 Request	House	Senate	Conference	Conference vs. enacted
TITLE I - EXPORT AND INVESTMENT ASSISTANCE						
EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF THE UNITED STATES						
Subsidy appropriation	865,000	633,323	738,323	727,323	727,323	-137,677
(Direct loan authorization)	(865,000)	(152,000)	(950,000)	(950,000)	(950,000)	(+85,000)
(Guaranteed loan authorization)	(13,535,000)	(11,335,000)	(12,700,000)	(12,700,000)	(12,700,000)	(-835,000)
Administrative expenses	62,000	65,000	60,000	64,000	63,000	+1,000
Negative subsidy	-15,000	-11,000	-11,000	-11,000	-11,000	+4,000
Total, Export-Import Bank of the United States	912,000	687,323	787,323	780,323	779,323	-132,677
OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION						
Noncredit account:						
Administrative expenses	38,000	38,608	38,608	38,608	38,608	+608
Insurance fees and other offsetting collections	-283,000	-290,000	-290,000	-290,000	-290,000	-7,000
Subsidy appropriation	24,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	-24,000
(Direct loan authorization)	(127,000)	(45,000)	(45,000)	(45,000)	(45,000)	(-82,000)
(Guaranteed loan authorization)	(1,000,000)	(1,152,000)	(1,152,000)	(1,152,000)	(1,152,000)	(+152,000)
Total, Overseas Private Investment Corporation	-221,000	-251,392	-251,392	-251,392	-251,392	-30,392
TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCY						
Trade and development agency	50,000	50,024	50,024	50,024	50,024	+24
Total, title I, Export and investment assistance	741,000	485,955	585,955	578,955	577,955	-163,045
(Loan authorizations)	(15,527,000)	(12,684,000)	(14,847,000)	(14,847,000)	(14,847,000)	(-680,000)
TITLE II - BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE						
FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT						
Agency for International Development						
Child survival and health programs fund	1,063,000	991,000	1,425,000	1,510,500	1,433,500	+370,500
Rescission of unobligated balances	-10,000	-20,000	.....	.....	.....	+10,000
UNICEF	(110,000)	(110,000)	(120,000)	(120,000)	(120,000)	(+10,000)
Subtotal, Child survival (net)	1,053,000	971,000	1,425,000	1,510,500	1,433,500	+380,500
Development assistance	1,305,000	1,325,000	1,098,000	1,245,000	1,178,000	-127,000
International disaster assistance	165,000	200,000	201,000	245,000	235,500	+70,500
Supplemental funding	135,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	-135,000
Transition Initiatives	50,000	50,000	40,000	52,500	50,000	.....
(By transfer)	(5,000)	.....	.....	.....	.....	(-5,000)
Micro & Small Enterprise Development program account:						
Subsidy appropriation	1,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	-1,500
(Guaranteed loan authorization)	(30,000)	.....	.....	.....	.....	(-30,000)
Administrative expenses	500	.....	.....	.....	.....	-500
Development credit authority:						
Subsidy appropriation	1,500	.....	.....	.....	.....	-1,500
(By transfer)	(5,000)	(25,000)	(12,500)	(25,000)	(18,500)	(+13,500)
(Guaranteed loan authorization)	(49,700)	(355,000)	(177,500)	(355,000)	(267,500)	(+217,800)
Administrative expenses	4,000	7,500	7,500	7,500	7,500	+3,500
Subtotal, development assistance	2,715,500	2,553,500	2,771,500	3,060,500	2,904,500	+189,000
Payment to the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund	44,489	44,880	44,880	44,880	44,880	+391
Operating expenses of the Agency for International Development	520,000	549,000	549,000	549,000	549,000	+29,000
(By transfer)	(1,000)	.....	.....	.....	(3,500)	(+2,500)
Supplemental funding	13,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	-13,000
Operating expenses of the Agency for International Development						
Office of Inspector General	27,000	32,000	30,000	32,000	31,500	+4,500
Total, Agency for International Development (net)	3,319,989	3,179,380	3,395,380	3,686,380	3,529,880	+209,891
Other Bilateral Economic Assistance						
Economic support fund:						
Camp David countries	1,535,000	1,375,000	1,375,000	1,375,000	1,375,000	-160,000
Other	760,000	879,000	824,000	884,500	824,000	+64,000
Rescission of unobligated balances	-10,000	-5,000	.....	.....	.....	+10,000
Subtotal, Economic support fund (net)	2,285,000	2,249,000	2,199,000	2,239,500	2,199,000	-86,000
International Fund for Ireland	25,000	.....	25,000	.....	25,000	.....
Assistance for Eastern Europe and the Baltic States	600,000	605,000	600,000	615,000	621,000	+21,000
Supplemental funding	75,825	.....	.....	.....	.....	-75,825
Assistance for the Independent States of the former Soviet Union	810,000	803,000	768,000	795,500	784,000	-26,000
Total, Other Bilateral Economic Assistance	3,795,825	3,662,000	3,562,000	3,650,000	3,629,000	-166,825

FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS
APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 2002 (H.R. 2506) — continued
 (Amounts in thousands)

	FY 2001 Enacted	FY 2002 Request	House	Senate	Conference	Conference vs. enacted
INDEPENDENT AGENCIES						
Inter-American Foundation						
Appropriation			12,000	13,107	13,107	+13,107
(By transfer)	(12,000)	(12,108)				(-12,000)
African Development Foundation						
Appropriation			16,042	16,542	16,542	+16,542
(By transfer)	(16,000)	(16,042)				(-16,000)
Peace Corps						
Appropriation	265,000	275,000	275,000	275,000	275,000	+10,000
Department of State						
International narcotics control and law enforcement	325,000	217,000	217,000	217,000	217,000	-108,000
Andean Counterdrug Initiative		731,000	675,000	547,000	625,000	+625,000
Migration and refugee assistance	700,000	715,000	715,000	735,000	705,000	+5,000
United States Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	
Nonproliferation, anti-terrorism, demining and related programs	311,600	332,000	311,000	318,500	313,500	+1,900
Total, Department of State	1,351,600	2,010,000	1,833,000	1,832,500	1,875,500	+523,900
Department of the Treasury						
International affairs technical assistance	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,500	+500
Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Malaria, & Tuberculosis		100,000				
Debt restructuring	238,000	224,000	224,000	235,000	229,000	-9,000
Supplemental funding	210,000					-210,000
United States community adjustment and investment program		500				
Subtotal, Department of the Treasury	454,000	330,500	230,000	241,000	235,500	-218,500
Total, title II, Bilateral economic assistance (net)	9,186,414	9,456,880	9,453,422	9,714,529	9,574,529	+388,115
Appropriations	(8,772,589)	(9,481,880)	(9,453,422)	(9,714,529)	(9,574,529)	(+801,940)
Emergency appropriations	(433,825)					(-433,825)
Rescission	(-20,000)	(-25,000)				(+20,000)
(By transfer)	(39,000)	(53,150)	(12,500)	(25,000)	(22,000)	(-17,000)
(Loan authorizations)	(79,700)	(355,000)	(177,500)	(355,000)	(267,500)	(+187,800)
TITLE III - MILITARY ASSISTANCE						
FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT						
International Military Education and Training	55,000	65,000	65,000	75,000	70,000	+15,000
Supplemental funding	2,875					-2,875
Foreign Military Financing Program:						
Grants:						
Camp David countries	3,280,000	3,340,000	3,340,000	3,340,000	3,340,000	+60,000
Other	265,000	334,000	287,000	334,000	310,000	+45,000
Subtotal, grants	3,545,000	3,674,000	3,627,000	3,674,000	3,650,000	+105,000
(Limitation on administrative expenses)	(33,000)	(35,000)	(35,000)	(35,000)	(35,000)	(+2,000)
Supplemental funding	31,000					-31,000
Total, Foreign Military Financing	3,576,000	3,674,000	3,627,000	3,674,000	3,650,000	+74,000
Peacekeeping operations	127,000	135,000	135,000	140,000	135,000	+8,000
Total, title III, Military assistance (net)	3,760,875	3,874,000	3,827,000	3,889,000	3,855,000	+94,125
Appropriations	(3,727,000)	(3,874,000)	(3,827,000)	(3,889,000)	(3,855,000)	(+128,000)
Emergency appropriations	(33,875)					(-33,875)
(Limitation on administrative expenses)	(33,000)	(35,000)	(35,000)	(35,000)	(35,000)	(+2,000)
TITLE IV - MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE						
FUNDS APPROPRIATED TO THE PRESIDENT						
International Financial Institutions						
World Bank Group						
Contribution to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development:						
Global Environment Facility	108,000	107,500	82,500	109,500	100,500	-7,500
Contribution to the International Development Association	775,000	803,400	803,400	775,000	792,400	+17,400
Contribution to Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency	10,000	10,000			5,000	-5,000
(Limitation on callable capital subscriptions)	(50,000)	(50,000)	(50,000)	(50,000)	(25,000)	(-25,000)
Total, World Bank Group	893,000	920,900	885,900	884,500	897,900	+4,900

FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS
APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 2002 (H.R. 2506) — continued
 (Amounts in thousands)

	FY 2001 Enacted	FY 2002 Request	House	Senate	Conference	Conference vs. enacted
Contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank:						
Paid-in capital						
Contribution to the Inter-American Investment Corporation	25,000	25,000	10,000	20,000	18,000	-7,000
Contribution to the Enterprise for the Americas Multilateral Investment Fund	10,000					-10,000
Total, contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank	35,000	25,000	10,000	20,000	18,000	-17,000
Contribution to the Asian Development Bank:						
Paid-in capital						
Contribution to the Asian Development Fund	72,000	103,017	93,017	103,017	98,017	+26,017
Contribution to the African Development Bank:						
Paid-in capital	6,100	5,100	5,100	5,100	5,100	-1,000
(Limitation on callable capital subscriptions)	(97,549)	(79,992)	(79,992)	(79,992)	(79,992)	(-17,557)
Contribution to the African Development Fund	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	100,000	
Total	106,100	105,100	105,100	105,100	105,100	-1,000
Contribution to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development:						
Paid-in capital	35,779	35,779	35,779	35,779	35,779	
(Limitation on callable capital subscriptions)	(123,238)	(123,238)	(123,238)	(123,238)	(123,238)	
Contribution to the International Fund for Agricultural Development	5,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	+15,000
Total, International Financial Institutions	1,146,879	1,209,796	1,149,796	1,168,396	1,174,796	+27,917
(Limitation on callable capital subscript)	(270,787)	(253,230)	(253,230)	(253,230)	(228,230)	(-42,557)
International Organizations and Programs						
Appropriation	186,000	186,000	196,000	218,000	208,500	+22,500
Total, title IV, Multilateral economic assistance	1,332,879	1,395,796	1,345,796	1,386,396	1,383,296	+50,417
(Limitation on callable capital subscript)	(270,787)	(253,230)	(253,230)	(253,230)	(228,230)	(-42,557)
Grand total (net)	15,021,168	15,212,631	15,212,173	15,568,880	15,390,780	+369,612
Appropriations	(14,573,468)	(15,237,631)	(15,212,173)	(15,568,880)	(15,390,780)	(+817,312)
Rescissions	(-20,000)	(-25,000)				(+20,000)
Emergency appropriations	(467,700)					(-467,700)
(By transfer)	(39,000)	(53,150)	(12,500)	(25,000)	(22,000)	(-17,000)
(Limitation on administrative expenses)	(33,000)	(35,000)	(35,000)	(35,000)	(35,000)	(+2,000)
(Limitation on callable capital subscript)	(270,787)	(253,230)	(253,230)	(253,230)	(228,230)	(-42,557)
(Loan authorizations)	(15,606,700)	(13,039,000)	(15,024,500)	(15,202,000)	(15,114,500)	(-492,200)

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this conference report. I am very proud to join the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) today in presenting the final fiscal year 2002 foreign operations bill to our colleagues. We have worked closely with the Senate to come up with what I believe is a fine product.

The bill provides \$15.324 billion, about \$178 million above the President's request, for foreign assistance programs. I am pleased that we were able to provide funding levels for many programs, such as Child Survival and Development Assistance, which are well above the President's request. I believe this bill responds decisively to the HIV-AIDS crisis in Africa and around the world, providing a total of \$475 million to fight this disease. This total is \$150 million above last year's level and \$285 million above the fiscal year 2000 level.

The gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) and I worked hard to maximize the Congressional commitment to fighting HIV-AIDS within a budget that was simply too small to do all we know we must do, and I believe we have succeeded.

The bill also represents a first step toward a Congressional commitment to providing basic education for all of the world's poor children. Education is a cornerstone of development, and it is high time that the foreign operations bill reflected this priority. In fact, every study shows that educating children, and especially girls, yields extraordinary advances in health care, economic growth and the stability of developing societies.

The bill before us today provides a total of \$165 million for basic education, up from just \$115 million 1 year ago. This is a tremendous beginning to what I hope will be a multiyear scale-up of this program. Again, I thank the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) for working with me on this issue.

The bill also fully funds our commitments to the Middle East. It adequately funds export programs and meets other international commitments. It also includes a key provision urging the President to assess Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's compliance with basic agreements to disavow violence and terrorism and hold those who continue to pursue terror accountable. It also urges the President to take punitive action against Arafat and the PA if he has not complied.

The House-passed bill made this assessment mandatory, and I want to make it perfectly clear that I strongly preferred that this language stand. The events of recent weeks have made it obvious why Arafat must know if he reneges on his commitments, his rela-

tionship with the United States will suffer. I do believe the language in this conference agreement expresses the clear will of Congress on this matter, and I have already urged the President to comply.

We all know that conferencing a bill is a process of compromise, and I would like to discuss two provisions with which I continue to disagree. Specifically, I am concerned about the inclusion in this bill of an open-ended waiver of Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act. I had hoped that we would be able to amend the Senate-passed language to sunset the waiver and ensure the stability of Nagorno-Karabagh. We make clear in the Statement of Managers that we will revisit this issue next year, if necessary.

I also strenuously disagree with the decision to drop the Senate's Global Democracy Promotion language which would have repealed the President's executive order imposing the global gag rule on our bilateral family planning assistance. Although I am delighted we were able to increase bilateral international family planning assistance to \$446.5 million, recipients of these funds will continue to be unfairly and onerously restricted by the gag rule. As I have said before, I believe this policy is a blight on our foreign assistance program.

I also regret that this bill has been held up for weeks by those in this body who oppose funding for the United Nations Population Fund, the UNFPA. The increase we have provided for this organization reflects the importance and quality of its work, not only in the family planning arena, but in combating HIV-AIDS and helping the people of Afghanistan.

In fact, unfortunately, the bill could have been completed a month ago, and I can tell you it does make a huge difference to the implementers and recipients of these assistance programs as a result of the delay. Moving forward with all of the wonderful new initiatives we have discussed here today has been needlessly delayed.

Mr. Speaker, I think we can all agree that the last few months have sparked a new awareness on the part of all Americans of the importance of understanding and engaging with people around the world. We cannot go it alone, we know that, and we cannot deny the fact that what happened seemingly a world away can directly impact the lives of each and every American.

It is with this enhanced awareness of the complexities of the world that my colleagues and I approached this conference, and with it is with a heightened sense of purpose that I continue to support and urge my colleagues to support increased investments in our foreign policy priorities. We simply do not have enough in this year's bill to do what we must for Afghanistan, for

HIV-AIDS, for basic education, health care, democracy and economic development, and we will be in the same position next year, unless we get a substantially increased request from the President come February. We must constantly build on our successes, because the stakes are far too high for us to rest on our laurels.

I want to include by thanking the wonderful Members of my committee. It has been a pleasure to work with them, both on the Democrat and Republican side, and the staff, who have been so instrumental in putting this bill together. I particularly appreciate the hard work of Mark Murray, Charlie Flickner, John Shank, Alice Grant, Lori Maes, Sean Mulvaney, Beth Tritter, and all of the associate staffers for the majority and minority members.

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I also must thank, of course, our big chairman, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), who I know is so committed. Finally, I cannot say enough about what a wonderful experience it has been to work with the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), the chairman of the subcommittee. Mr. Speaker, his dedication and hard work is evident in the bill before us today. I look forward to the good work we will do together in the future. It is really a pleasure for me to work with the gentleman from Arizona. I know that there are few issues that we have any disagreement on, and I look forward to working with him again in the future.

I also want to thank Chairman LEAHY and Senator MCCONNELL and their staff for their cooperation.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), the chairman of the full committee.

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, this bill does not enjoy as much support as many of our other appropriations bills, but I really compliment the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) for having been able to bring together a bill that has many reforms and that changes a lot of the foreign aid programs that are of interest to the United States. As I said, it is not the easiest bill to produce, but they have done a really good job. I know that we will all start to breathe a sigh of relief, because this is the next-to-the-last appropriations bill for this season. Tomorrow, we will have the last appropriations bill for this season.

I hope that we can proceed quickly with the completion of this bill and the rest of the business of today, and I would advise everybody to get a good night's rest, because the largest bill in our pack is tomorrow, and that is our bill for national defense and homeland security.

Mr. Speaker, this is the first year for the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) as chairman of this subcommittee. He had chaired another subcommittee for quite a long time, but because of the term limits that are self-imposed in the House, the gentleman changed to this job this year. I would say to the gentleman that he has done an outstanding job. He has visited with heads of State from all over this planet and has met them with great integrity and with mutual respect. He has done a really fine job representing the Congress as he deals with the foreign leaders, and the gentleman from Arizona deserves the pride of this House and the respect of this House for the great job that he has done. His partner, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), has, in fact, been a partner all the way through; and while there were some differences, most of them were overcome without too much difficulty. They have done a good job, and I think it is okay to vote for this bill today.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentlewoman from Michigan (Ms. KILPATRICK), an outstanding, hard-working member of the committee.

Ms. KILPATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support the foreign operations bill and the process by which it has gone through this United States Congress. I have been a member of this committee now for some 3 years and under the leadership of the former chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. CALLAHAN), and now the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE). I want to add my voice to those of support and to thank the chairman for his kindness, his inclusion, and the opportunity to work with him. I also want to thank my ranking member, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), for her leadership. In spite of the tragedy of our Nation and being from New York and all of the consequences that it must have had for the gentlewoman's family and her constituents, I appreciate her leadership and I appreciate her being here and allowing us to participate and represent as we have been sent here to do.

This is a good foreign operations bill, as has been said, and really has increased many of the lines where we need assistance to assist the countries around the world. Our Export-Import Bank has really been restored to the place that it needs to be to assist our businesses so that they can help not only increase their bottom lines, but to send American goods around the world and receive those goods that will help our communities.

The child survival and health account, most important during this time of pandemic proportions in our HIV/AIDS pandemic that strikes not only Africa, but Russia, India, Asia and our United States as well.

The UNICEF account. I thank my colleagues very much for the additional appropriation there for children around the world who basically need it. And then in our basic education accounts for children around the world to begin to receive the kind of education that they will need to take care of themselves and their families.

Mr. Speaker, this is a good bill. The one objection I do have, and nothing is perfect in this Congress, is the language that is retained that banned those organizations from receiving funds who counsel their clients on abortions in their family planning programs. Family planning is not giving abortions. Family planning is just that; and many people around the world, particularly poor women, need the counseling so that they can plan their children and be able to take care of their people and their families.

Mr. Speaker, I do support the foreign operations bill. I hope that we will go further next year and address the pandemic a little better and give the relief to women who need it around this country as they plan their families.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KNOLLENBERG), a member of the subcommittee who has done yeoman's work to help us get to this point.

Mr. KNOLLENBERG. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this conference report. As a member of this subcommittee for the last 7 years, I am proud of the bill that we have before us today; and I think that commendations should go to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), the chairman of the subcommittee, who has been a great leader and who has brought what I think is an effective and responsible bill to completion. I also want to thank the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) for her efforts as well.

As we have in past years, the entire subcommittee has worked together to make important progress on a number of foreign assistance issues; and along with that go some great thanks to the subcommittee staff, the entire staff who have performed admirably. I want to commend all of them. I will not mention their names. The gentleman from Arizona mentioned them, but they are all very important to this.

I am pleased that this agreement provides some 94.3 million in assistance to Armenia. This includes for the first time \$4.3 million in military assistance. Providing military assistance marks a new stage in the U.S.-Armenia relationship.

The conference agreement also includes a Senate provision providing a limited conditional waiver of section 907. During the conference, new language was added to protect Armenians in the Caucasus region and explicitly expressed the intent of Congress to review this provision each year. I want to

make it abundantly clear that this is a limited and conditional waiver which we will revisit next year in the fiscal year 2003 bill. Renewal of any waiver to section 907 will be closely scrutinized, and Azerbaijan's actions will be closely monitored.

Many friends of Armenia have worked to support these provisions, including the ranking member and others on the subcommittee and, of course, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE), my caucus cochair, along with the Armenian Assembly of America. One of the most important contributions, Mr. Speaker, that this bill makes in the way of foreign policy commitments is the annual assistance package to the Middle East. Particularly at this difficult time, it is important to remember that we are providing funding. This funding that we are providing supports the pursuit of peace and stability in that region. Israel, of course, who is our principal ally in the region and shares our values of democracy and freedom, and I am pleased that this bill fully supports the administration's request for \$2.8 billion in military and economic assistance to Israel, as well as \$60 million to support the settlement of Jewish refugees.

The conference agreement also includes \$35 million for Lebanon to protect and support the excellent USAID mission there. This funding supports the efforts of NGOs and the American educational institutions to help provide development stability, particularly in southern Lebanon.

The bill also includes \$779 million for the Export-Import Bank, \$92 million above the President's request. With the funding I hope the bank will be able to maintain at least the level of activity that we experienced last year. The Export-Import Bank has a critical role to play in support of American exports and the businesses and workers who supply these products.

North Korea. The conference agreement also includes \$90 million for the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization called KEDO. I am pleased this is less than the administration's request. I have long opposed the 1994 agreed-to framework and funding for North Korea, a country which supports terrorism and continues to pursue weapons of mass destruction. I will continue to oppose this effort in the future.

Mr. Speaker, there are many other programs in this bill, including micro-enterprise loans, foreign military financing for the Baltic countries, and significant funding to continue the fight against HIV/AIDS and the crisis around the world, particularly in Africa.

Mr. Speaker, this is an excellent bill and represents a responsible contribution to our Nation's foreign policy, our national security, and our economic goals.

Once again, I want to commend the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), whom I have worked with on a great many matters, and I am particularly pleased with the way he has worked with all of us. I urge all of my colleagues to support, my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, and to vote in favor of this conference report today.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to strongly support this conference report. As a member of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee for the last seven years, I am proud of the bill we have before us today. I encourage all members to join me in voting aye.

I commend the gentleman from Arizona (Representative JIM KOLBE) for his hard work and leadership in bringing this effective and responsible bill to completion.

I also thank my friend from New York (Representative NITA LOWEY) for her efforts again this year.

As we have in years past, the entire Subcommittee has worked together to make important progress on a number of foreign assistance issues.

I also thank the Subcommittee staff for their tireless efforts, without which this bill would not be possible.

Mr. Speaker, the power of Congress, and particularly the House of Representatives, flows from the power of the purse. When it comes to foreign affairs, that means foreign assistance. As such, this bill serves as the most important contribution this body makes to our nation's foreign affairs. It supports our economic interests, national security, and overall foreign policy.

I'd like to specifically highlight a few areas.

This bill provides an important foundation to our policy toward the Southern Caucasus and particularly for our friend and ally Armenia. The agreement provides \$94.3 million in assistance to Armenia. This amount is higher than either the House or Senate version of the bill, and \$24.3 million higher than the President's request. This also includes, for the first time, \$4.3 million in military assistance to Armenia.

Providing military assistance marks a new stage in the U.S.-Armenia relationship. The military financing will help maintain parity between Armenia and Azerbaijan. It will serve to strengthen and enhance Armenia's military as well as solidify its relationship with the United States armed forces.

This conference agreement also includes a Senate provision regarding limited changes to Section 907. As my colleagues know, I have long supported Section 907 and have fought over the last several years against any effort to repeal or waive this important provision. At the same time, in the aftermath of the events of September 11th, it became clear that certain changes to Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act were not only inevitable, but also necessary. President Bush specifically requested a national security waiver to Section 907 in order to counter al Qaeda terrorist organizations and elements operating with Azerbaijan. Amazingly and inexplicably, Azerbaijan news media reports periodically mischaracterize the Armenians of Nagorno Karabagh as terrorists. Clearly, this not the case and it would be my hope that this inflam-

matory rhetoric and misinformation campaign by Azerbaijan cease.

In working with the Administration and my House and Senate colleagues, we were able to craft a limited and conditional waiver to Section 907, which would enable the President to effectively combat the war on terrorism and ensure protection for Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh. I want to make it abundantly clear that this is a limited and conditional waiver and we will revisit this issue next year in the fiscal year 2003 bill. Renewal of any waiver to Section 907 will be closely scrutinized and Azerbaijan's actions will be closely monitored. If Azerbaijan abuses any assistance provided as a result of this waiver or attempts to use such assistance in an offensive manner against Armenia or Armenian communities in the South Caucasus, the limited waiver will be terminated.

I would like to associate myself with the remarks made by the Ranking Member of the Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee (Sen. MITCH MCCONNELL) during consideration of this bill in the other body. In his statement, he made it clear that he will be closely following the developments in Azerbaijan and Turkey to lift the blockades against their neighbors. I concur wholeheartedly with these comments and want to emphasize the importance of lifting the ongoing blockades in place against Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh. It seems to me that lifting these blockades—now more than ever—is in the U.S. national interest. In the aftermath of September 11th, we must redouble our efforts in this regard.

I would like to thank my colleagues for their hard work on this issue, particularly the gentleman from Arizona (Representative JIM KOLBE) our Chairman and my friend from New York (Representative NITA LOWEY) our Ranking Member. I would also like to note the work of my Armenian Caucus Co-Chair, the gentleman from New Jersey (Representative FRANK PALLONE). Additionally, I would like to recognize the invaluable input and proactive leadership of those individuals and organizations from the Armenian-American community who understood the importance of America's efforts to combat terrorism and the new realities in a post September 11th environment. In particular, I would like to commend the Armenian Assembly of America for their tireless efforts to ensure that a balance was achieved.

Mr. Speaker, one of the most important contributions this bill makes to foreign policy is the annual assistance package to the Middle East. Particularly at this difficult time, it's important to remember, the funding we provide supports the pursuit of peace and stability.

Israel, of course, is our principal ally in the region and shares our values of democracy and freedom. Since its establishment, Israel has struggled to achieve its goal of peaceful existence and it is in our interest to provide any assistance necessary for Israel to achieve that goal. I am pleased this bill fully supports the administration's request for \$2.8 billion in military and economic assistance to Israel, as well as \$60 million to support the resettlement of Jewish refugees.

This bill also provides almost \$2 billion to Egypt and \$225 million to Jordan, both critical allies of the United States. This funding is a direct result

of peace agreements these countries have signed with Israel, which the United States helped to facilitate. As Egypt and Jordan continue to support and advocate for peace with Israel and a cessation to the current violence, it is important for the United States to maintain this funding.

The bill also provides \$35 million for Lebanon to support the excellent USAID mission there. This funding supports the efforts of NGO's and American educational institutions to help provide development and stability, particularly in southern Lebanon. Our assistance promotes our values of democracy and free markets among the Lebanese people. This is in the interest of the United States, Lebanon, and Israel. It helps build and strengthen relationships between the Lebanese people and the United States.

However, despite our efforts, violence and terrorism continue in the Middle East. We are now in the 15th month of an "intifada". In addition to our financial assistance, the United States has led efforts to bring violence to an end through the Mitchell Committee, the Tenet agreement, and General Zinni's efforts in recent weeks. Despite our efforts, on December first and second we saw perhaps the worst episode of Palestinian terrorism Israel has ever been forced to endure. These acts of terrorism continue.

Quite simply, violence must stop and terrorism must cease. This is now a test for Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Authority. Arafat must take concrete action, including the arrest of all those responsible for terrorism against Israel. Arafat must bring down the terrorist groups who operate in territory under his control. I am pleased there is language in this bill that makes it clear, if Palestinian violence does not stop, the Palestinians' ties with the United States will be in serious jeopardy.

This bill also includes \$790 million for the Export-Import Bank. With this funding, I hope the Bank will be able to maintain at least the level of activity experienced this year.

The Export-Import Bank has a critical role to play in support of American exports, and the businesses and workers who supply those products. Without support from Ex-Im, billions of dollars in American exports simply would not go forward. Ex-Im is especially important for small businesses, which benefit from over 80% of the Bank's transactions. These exports remain crucial to our economy.

The conference agreement also includes \$90 million for the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization. I am pleased this is slightly less than the Administration's request. I have long opposed the 1994 Agreed Framework and funding for North Korea—a country that supports terrorism and continues to pursue weapons of mass destruction. I will continue

to do this in the future. The United States simply should not provide foreign assistance to a country that supports terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, there are many other important programs in this bill including microenterprise loans, foreign military financing for the Baltic countries, and significant funding—beyond the President's request—to continue the fight against the HIV/AIDS crisis around the world and in Africa.

This is an excellent bill and represents a responsible contribution to our nation's foreign policy, national security, and economic goals.

I once again commend the Chairman and Ranking Member, and their staffs, for their efforts on this bill and I urge all my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to vote in favor of it today.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. ROTHMAN), a distinguished member of the committee.

Mr. ROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, first let me thank and congratulate the chairman of our subcommittee, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), and our ranking member, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), and their respective staffs for doing an outstanding job and being of such great assistance and cooperation to me and to other Members of the committee with interests in this bill. I also want to thank the gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG), the chairman of the full committee, for his continuing leadership and kindnesses to me and other Members on the committee, and, of course, to our ranking member of the full committee, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. OBEY).

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my strong support for the foreign operations appropriations bill on which we are about to vote. While I am pleased to see that there is additional money for the United Nations family planning program, I am disappointed that the Mexico City gag rule on a woman's right to choose remains in place. However, overall, this is a very good piece of legislation that comes at a crucial time in our Nation's history.

We all know that military action is essential to protect the American people here at home and abroad. But today's legislation will complement, will assist, that action. It is clear that it is in America's vital national interest to use a small portion of its budget to work and assist with other countries to make sure that those other countries around the world do not become breeding grounds for future Osama bin Ladens. As my colleagues may know, this foreign aid bill represents less than 1 percent of the budget of the United States of America, less than 1 percent; but it is money well spent.

Mr. Speaker, let me read from a recent editorial that appeared in a local

newspaper in my district. It said, "There is a growing international consensus that long-term, wisely targeted foreign aid, designed not only to alleviate poverty, but also to help build strong civic institutions and social stability is an indispensable part of the struggle against terrorism."

I agree with that. The bill that we pass today takes a big step forward in creating the conditions which will allow people around the world to embrace democracy and tolerance and also to reject those who would be undemocratic and who would subjugate their own people.

Mr. Speaker, in this foreign aid bill, we not only fulfill our moral obligation to fight global poverty, spur economic development, support health and education programs, and build democratic institutions; but through this foreign assistance bill, we serve America's vital national interests. We do so now more than ever because it is important for us to reach out to other populations around the world to help them make the right choices, to choose peace, prosperity and democracy. Because after all, democracies do not wage war on one another. Democracies make great trading partners with one another, and democracies, having democracies around the world helps us as Americans fulfill our national manifest destiny, if you will, the destiny where we seek to have people live in freedom, to have a free people choose their own leaders, and to live in equality under the rule of law.

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This foreign aid bill, less than 1 percent of our national budget, achieves that goal; money very well spent. I urge my colleagues to support this bill.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. LEWIS), another distinguished member of the subcommittee and chairman of one of the other subcommittees, and an individual who has contributed a great deal to the work of this committee.

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding time to me.

I had planned not to speak, but our full committee chairman was kind enough to mention that our defense bill was up tomorrow, and it is an item that has the largest funding of all the bills. It takes up over half of discretionary spending, because it is our national defense, after all.

But he also mentioned that this bill is sometimes tough in terms of a balance of votes on the floor. I am rising today really to say that that absolutely should not be our circumstance, for the bill that our chairman is bringing us today, representing only some \$15 billion of funding, is absolutely one of the most important reasons for us to have a Congress in the first place.

National security, yes; but this bill reflects America's presence in the world during times of war, but also in times of peace, and uses \$15 billion to make sure that the voice of freedom is heard around the world for America, the last remaining superpower; a small presence by way of this bill, able to reach out to countries attempting to make a new way for the lives of their people; the voice of freedom, the voice of independence and opportunity that is America's in the world; our chance to provide a kind of leadership that can impact the future of mankind. This bill is that important, \$15 billion though it may be.

I said to the Secretary of State when he came to us not so long ago that he was the chairman of the Joint Chiefs. It was such an irony that I was sitting there listening to him asking for \$15 billion when the defense bill represents over \$300 billion.

The Members have done a great job, both the chairman and the ranking member, in bringing this bill forward. It is about time the American public understands that this is not just foreign aid, it is the voice for freedom in the world.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR).

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I thank my very good friend, the ranking member, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), for granting me this time; and also to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), the chairman of the subcommittee, for moving this conference bill to the floor. I might add, much improved from when it left this Chamber initially.

September 11 reminded us all that neglect breeds violence, and an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. This bill has a lot of pounds of cure in it.

Speaking as co-chair of the Ukrainian Caucus here in the House, I would like to speak specifically about Ukraine, noting that from when the bill left the House, the totals for that country have been raised from \$125 million to \$154 million, so Ukraine is no longer singled out as the only country in the world to receive a cut in foreign assistance, especially before their third parliamentary election, which will occur early next spring.

Our ultimate goal is to help the Ukrainian people participate fully in this third election so they keep moving forward and do not slip backwards, as has happened to Belarus right under our own eyes.

We hope that the funds in this bill will also help to make sure that not only their elections will be properly observed on Election Day, but they can be prepared to participate in the elections; that there will be monitoring of the electoral races, making sure that

election laws are not violated and that the oligarchs are not buying votes; and that the government does not tamper with the candidates' rights to present their own platforms in those elections.

We should all do all we can do to help the Ukrainian elections to be truly free and truly fair. I urge support of this improved conference report as an improvement over the original House bill.

Again, I wish to thank the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), who was a very worthy and engaging advocate in this bill; and also the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) for her incredible leadership always.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. KINGSTON), one of the other distinguished members of the subcommittee who has also made very valuable contributions to the work of this subcommittee.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding time to me, and also the ranking member for all the hard work that has been put into this bill.

I want to make three points about it. There are some things in the bill that I do not particularly like, but there is always that case when we are trying to have influence around the globe. We do not all agree what must be done.

There are a lot of very good things in here. There are three things I want to highlight.

Number one is the war on drugs, the Andean counterdrug initiative. As the father of four children, I am amazed as I go into schools throughout the First District of Georgia and I visit lots and lots of schools, that one thing they all have in common, whether they are from a poor county, a rich county, a small county, a rural county, or an urban county, is that in the average high school in America, in just about all of them one can get drugs.

It is amazing, when we think about a product that is not made in America. It is not advertised. If one works for the drug distributor, there are no business cards. We do not see billboards about it, and there is no health care plan; yet somehow this remarkable, insidious product can get on every schoolyard in America.

This takes the battle abroad and says we want to stop it at its source. I appreciate the hard work of the gentleman from Illinois (Speaker HASTERT) on this, and I am glad that the subcommittee has continued to keep the battle against drugs coming into America going.

Number two, I want to mention our role in the Middle East and the situation that Israel is in right now. We are all very, very focused on the 9-11 attacks on America; but our partner in the Middle East, Israel, has also been under attack. While we have waged total war in Afghanistan in wiping out al Qaeda and the Taliban, we seem to

often say to our ally, Israel: Restraint, hold back, do not go on a counter-attack. Yet, that is kind of a double standard.

I am glad that this bill does fund military financing for Israel, so this keeps a very strong American commitment to Israel.

Finally, let me say this: for the American role around the globe, I think we have found out that we can get our allies, we can pull forces together, and we can stop a terrorist organization. We can have the same positive roles in agriculture and in finance and in population control, and this bill takes a step in that direction.

America is not the policeman for the world; but if there is one, would it not be nice to know that it is a peace officer like the United States of America?

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. FRANK).

Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding time to me.

I have one serious regret about this bill, but it is beyond the capacity of the members of the subcommittee or even the full committee to deal with. There is not enough money. We do not do enough to alleviate poverty in the world. We could do better.

In fact, right now we have taken on an obligation by the war we have waged in Afghanistan, which we had not just a right but an obligation to wage, and I am delighted with our success; but it has given us an obligation to go now into Afghanistan economically and politically and in other ways to try to make that a better society than it was before.

I have one other point that I want to comment on. I have long supported aid to Egypt. I was glad Egypt played the constructive role it did beginning in the late seventies in the Middle East.

But I am becoming less and less happy with the role Egypt plays. It is becoming less and less willing to be a constructive force. I want to say that I was particularly outraged when the Egyptian Government decided a few months ago to engage in blatant oppression of Egyptian men who happen to be homosexual. This happened long after this process had begun.

The Egyptian Government ought to understand that it cannot with impunity continue to be so oppressive towards people's human rights, and in particular, its most recent outbreak of severe, unjustified, blatant prejudice, jailing men for no good reason whatsoever. They cannot continue to do that and not have it have an effect on how people view Egypt here and how people deal with Egypt.

I hope Egypt will once again play a more active, constructive role in the Middle East. That is now in question. This bill does some good things with

regard to sending a very strong message to the Palestinian Authority about the unacceptable lack of intervention on their part to maintain peace in the Middle East.

The Egyptian Government's record of late has deteriorated, and it has been particularly outrageous in this human rights field.

I will vote for this bill. I regret the fact that it does not have more money. I hope we will make sure that our moral obligation to help the people of Afghanistan deal with the devastation that has happened will not come at the expense of others, and I hope the Egyptian Government will pay attention.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE).

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentlewoman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of the Armenian-related provisions in the foreign ops bill, and I want to commend my colleagues on the subcommittee for striking the appropriate balance regarding section 907 of the Freedom Support Act.

In particular, I want to thank the ranking member, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), and in particular the co-chair of the Armenia Caucus, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. KNOLLENBERG), who worked very hard on the Armenia provisions.

As my colleagues know, this important provision of law, section 907, was enacted in 1992 to address Azerbaijan's aggression and blockades against Armenia and Nagorno-Karabagh. While Congress has upheld this provision of law over the years, the tragic events of September 11 necessitated certain changes to section 907.

As Secretary of State Colin Powell indicated in a letter to Members of Congress, changes were needed to "enable Azerbaijan to counter terrorist organizations and elements operating within its borders."

In fact, I remain concerned about credible reports regarding the presence of al Qaeda cells operating within Azerbaijan that pose a direct threat to the United States and whose members participated in Azerbaijan's military campaign against the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabagh.

In his 1999 Defense & Foreign Affairs article by Yossef Bodansky, entitled "The New Azerbaijan Hub—How Islamist operations are targeting Russia, Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh," Bodansky notes that radical Islamist forces used Azerbaijan as a launching base to conduct operations. As my colleagues may recall, Mr. Bodansky served as the Director of the Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare.

Mr. Speaker, these cells not only pose a threat to Armenia and Karabagh, but also threaten all of us.

I include for the RECORD an article on this subject by Yossef Bodansky, as

well as an Armenia Assembly issue brief on this subject and a press release.

The material referred to is as follows:

THE NEW AZERBAIJAN HUB

(By Yossef Bodansky)

An ongoing study by Defense & Foreign Affairs has cited a significant number of highly-placed sources in Russia and the Caucasus who advise that radical Islamist forces are expanding their infrastructure in Azerbaijan in preparation for a sustained escalation, both in Caucasus and at the heart of Russia. Planned terrorist "spectaculars" include the use of suicide bombers.

Significantly, these developments are based on long-standing relationships and understandings between Azeri officials and the Islamist leaders involved in Chechnya, Pakistan and Afghanistan. The escalation began in 1997 when the Islamists basically agreed with the Azerbaijan Government of Gaydar Aliyev that they would—in exchange for allowing a free flow of people, weapons and ordnance through Azerbaijan—not interfere with or overthrow the Aliyev Government. As well, they committed to providing outside mujahedin to undertake operations against Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh which could be credibly denied by the Aliyev Government.

This Azerbaijan-based infrastructure is aimed at both pushing arriving mujahedin to the forward training and operational bases in Chechnya, as well as launching operations against Russia and Armenia (including Nagorno-Karabakh) in the event of Russian bombing and raids on the Islamist bases in Chechnya.

At present, the most important function of the infrastructure in Azerbaijan is the absorption, handling and initial acclimatization and indoctrination of foreign volunteers, mainly Arabs and Afghans/Pakistanis, as well as growing numbers of Central Asians, before being sent forward to terrorism and military training bases in central Chechnya, mainly the Saudi-born Islamist leader Khattab's main rear-area base near Urus-Martan, Chechnya. Among the mujahedin presently handled in Azerbaijan are numerous would-be shahids (suicide terrorists) who had been trained in Osama bin Laden's camps in Afghanistan. The Islamist infrastructure in Azerbaijan is built on the experience of bin Laden, Khattab and their companions in not only absorbing volunteers for Afghan jihad during the 1980s, but of transforming them into a cohesive elite corps (which is still cohesive and most active more than a decade after the Afghan Jihad).

The current Islamist build-up constitutes a major expansion of the so-called covert pipeline which has been running since the Winter of 1997-98. The primary objective of the original pipeline was to smuggle weapons, money and people arriving from Pakistan/Afghanistan into Chechnya. The two primary methods of transportation:

By truck from the Baku region through the mountains and into Dagestan and Chechnya; or

By light aircraft from several sites in Azerbaijan into the Vedeno gorge or to Nozhay-Yurtovskiy Rayon in Chechnya.

The weapons delivered have been both shipments from Pakistan/Afghanistan, as well as large consignments of weapons purchased locally either from the ex-Soviet stockpiles of the Azerbaijani armed forces or specially acquired from Ukrainian and other suppliers (these weapons were purchased the Azerbaijani official channels with Baku pro-

viding end-user certificates and the buyers paying large commissions to all involved).

The current phase started in early September 1999 following a decision in Baku to upgrade the support for the Chechen-Dagestani Islamist forces. The new policy was elucidated publicly on August 20, 1999, by Vafa Guluzade, an Adviser to Gaydar Aliyev and the Azeri Government on State Policy issues. "Chechen and Dagestani fighting should be regarded as a national liberation struggle, not as a terrorism as the Russian authorities are trying to present it," Vafa Guluzade declared. He said that "today Russia is actually continuing in the Caucasus the policy of serf Russia which in 19th Century subjugated with fire and the sword the freedom-loving Caucasian nations. . . . Carrying out military campaign in the Caucasus today, the biggest campaign after the first Caucasian war, Russia is declaring itself a successor of Tsarist Russia." Having gained their independence after hundreds of years of Russian subjugation, Guluzade believes, all Muslim states of the Caucasus should unite their efforts to compel Russia to "change its policy regarding the Caucasus and other national regions before it is too late".

The modalities for the running of the new facilities in Azerbaijan were defined during most of September. The new activities in support of Chechnya and Dagestan were defined in late September/early October during a supposedly—secret visit to Georgia and particularly Azerbaijan by Selim Beshayev, the Vice Speaker of the Chechen Parliament. Beshayev's talks with Azeri officials were aimed at ensuring the smooth flow of mujahedin and the specialized equipment they need without undue interference.

In Baku, Beshayev has spent a lot of time convincing the Azeri authorities to expand their direct involvement in the Islamist "cause" in the aftermath of the Russian exposure of the Turkey-Georgia pipeline. Beshayev used both carrots and sticks. He promised lavish "unofficial" foreign aid to Azerbaijan: large quantities of cash from diverse sources in Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states which will most likely go to private pockets. Beshayev, also reiterated the Islamists' promise to assist Baku in "resolving the Karabakh problem" as expeditiously as possible. He was also willing to "guarantee" the security of the Baku-Novorossiysk oil pipeline. The concurrent expansion of Islamists activities in Azerbaijan proves the success of Beshayev's visit to Baku.

The key Islamist facilities are concealed as charity and educational organizations affiliated with the web used by bin Laden's networks. Moreover, the headquarters of these organizations are stuffed with Arab "teachers" and "managers" from the ranks of such organizations as the International Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic Salvation Front, several branches of Islamic Jihad, and the National Islamic Front of Sudan. The key organizations are:

World Assembly of Islamic Youth (sometimes translated as World Islamic Youth Assembly). Its headquarters is located in Baku's residential district of Dzhandzhlik/Janjilk. The key principals are Muhammad Salim Abd-al-Hamid (Saudi papers), Muhammad Ali Khoroko (Somali papers), Arif Abdallah Abd-al-Hamid and Hayruzi Qa'id Abd-al-Rahman (both Yemenite papers). Another Saudi, Salah Salman, is the contact man with Islamist charity and financial organizations in Saudi Arabia;

The International Organization of Islamic Salvation. Its headquarters is on Narimanov

Street, in the settlement (essentially remote suburb) of Azizbekovo near Baku. The three main functionaries are Muhammad Shama, Muhammad Salih al-Jarni and Arif Abdallah Abd-al-Hamid (same as above), all with Yemenite papers;

Al-Ibrahim Foundation. Very little is known about this Baku-based charity except that its Arab principals have huge amounts of cash in hard currency. They are involved in acquisition of real estate among other "educational" projects.

In the Fall of 1999, these charities began setting up several camps near Baku, where their students should be able "to study the Koran in a quiet setting". The primary function of the camps in the overall vicinity of Baku is the training of professional agitators. The students are a mixture of Arabs, Caucasians and Central Asians. Their primary mission is intended to be to "brainwash" the Muslim population of Dagestan (as well as of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan) into supporting Islamist causes, subversion and terrorism. The Islamists have just established in these camps facilities for the production of printed, audio and video incitement and agitation material advocating anti-Russian and anti-Western jihad. Significantly, these "camps" are also engaged in agitation against hated Muslim governments, particularly the House of al-Saud. On one wall there is the slogan in Arabic: "The fate of the Shah of Iran, who was driven out of his own country by Islamic organizations, awaits the [Saudi] royal family."

The second phase in the expansion of the Islamist facilities has begun in the past few days. A group of Arabs—all with documents from Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Yemen, and Afghanistan—left the Baku area to newly established "religious field camps" in the remote mountains of north-eastern Azerbaijan, on the road to Chechnya and Dagestan. All three Islamist "charities" mentioned above established such camps virtually simultaneously. These are paramilitary camps where the students undergo basic military training as well as equipping before they move on toward Chechnya and Dagestan. Some of the leaders and commanders of these camps have been identified as "proxies of terrorist Osama bin Laden".

Meanwhile, in anticipation for escalation and expansion, senior officials of the International Muslim Brotherhood, the National Islamic Front, and several branches of Islamic Jihad arrived in Azerbaijan in the latter days of September 1999. By the first week of October, they were mainly arranging contacts with local Islamists in order to establish new routes for moving money, weapons and mujahedin into Chechnya. One of their priorities is the shipment of Stingers from Pakistan. In their conversations with Azerbaijani Islamists and "forthcoming" officials, these emissaries acknowledged that their primary objective is the consolidation in Azerbaijan of a "springboard for inserting their main forces [into Chechnya and Dagestan]". They also set up a flow of cash into the accounts of the Islamist charities and camps. Since late September 1999, there have been repeated transfers of funds from Saudi Arabia via Beirut totaling tens of millions of dollars.

Much of this money is then transferred to Chechnya by couriers. For example, one of the camps received an electronic transfer of \$2-million from Al-Barakah Bank Lebanon (which is owned by the Saudi Sheikh Salih Abdallah Kamil). An Arab called Bin-Abdallah (UAE papers) received the money in cash and immediately carried it across the

border into Chechnya. On October 5, 1999, Azerbaijani border guards arrested two Arabs (with Iraqi papers) near the village of Pashbir. They had US\$300,000 in cash on them. They claimed they were volunteers working for a charity in Chechnya. All available evidence suggests that these known cases are but a small fraction of the present shipment of funds from Arab countries to Chechnya as well as the "Koranic camps" in Azerbaijan.

Another indicator of impending Islamist activities in and via Azerbaijan are the reconnaissance trips of Arab experts near the borders with Chechnya and Dagestan. For example, in the first week of October, a team from the Islamic Jihad traveled twice from Baku to the Azerbaijani-Dagestani border and carefully studied mountain passes and roads near the border. On October 5, 1999, a Turkish citizen called Yegid Rejeb was arrested on the Azerbaijani-Dagestani border en route to Khasavyurt with a Russian passport in the name of Magomed Sattarov. Rejeb is a graduate of one of the Baku area camps.

Meanwhile, the build-up of expert terrorist cadres has begun through other venues as well. On September 20, 1999, Chechen field commander Shamil Basayev announced the forthcoming establishment of a battalion of 400–500 *shahids*: would-be martyrs; that is, suicide terrorists. "These people will be ready and capable of carrying out the most difficult of tasks," he declared in Grozny. "Time and circumstances will tell" what specific tasks he had in mind for them.

Again, this was not an empty threat. Between October 3–5, 1999, a group of about 50 veteran Arab *mujahedin*—carrying papers from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and the Palestinian Authority—arrived at Khattab's main camp at Urus-Martani in central Chechnya. They traveled into Georgia legally on transit visas issued by the Georgian Consulate in Turkey. They are the first of about 100 Arab *mujahedin* known to have received Georgian visas together. Once this type of travel was exposed, the Georgian authorities in Turkey began dragging their feet in providing visas to walk-in Arabs. Therefore, the Islamists have expanded their search for new alternate routes into Chechnya and Dagestan via Azerbaijan.

AZERBAIJAN AND ISLAMIC TERRORISM

According to the Associated Press, the Congressional Research Services (CRS, 9/10/2001) issued a report noting that individuals and groups affiliated with the international terrorist Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda organization used Azerbaijan as one of the bases in its elaborate terrorist network. Some reports suggest that various radical Islamist groups had operated in Azerbaijan even before its 1991 independence. However, the real increase in their presence took place after the 1993 military coup, when the government of Heydar Aliyev approved a large-scale deployment of mujaheddin fighters from Afghanistan and other countries to join in the fighting against the Nagorno Karabagh Armenians.

Azerbaijan has used the Karabagh conflicts, characterizing it as a religious war, to cultivate ties in the Islamic world. These ties, including overtures to radical Jihad-oriented organizations, have been aimed at diplomatically isolating Armenia and raising financial and military assistance for a new military campaign against Karabagh. Since 1998, in the wake of the U.S. embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, the Azerbaijani government came under pressure from Wash-

ington to clamp down on radical Islamist groups that operate in Azerbaijan. But as recent reports show, radical Islamist groups are entrenched in Azerbaijan and will be very difficult to eradicate. The information below refers to the main stages of development of Islamist terrorism in Azerbaijan in the past decade:

Azerbaijan experienced a wave of "Islamic Revival" in the late 1980s—early 1990s that led the way to the creation of many indigenous Islamist groups espousing violent ideology and establishment of relations with similar organizations abroad. The most overt expressions of Islamic solidarity by Azeris were made in 1990 and 1991, when residents of districts bordering Iran destroyed most of the frontier installations to fraternize with Iranians, just as several newly-established Azeri Islamist groups offered to provide volunteers to fight in the Gulf War on the side of Saddam Hussein. A member of Al Qaeda, Jamal Ahmed el-Fadl, arrested by the FBI for his role in the 1998 embassy bombings, claimed his organization became active in Azerbaijan as early as 1989. (Trans-Caspian Project 10/3/00, Ekho 9/1/01)

In the summer of 1993, President Heydar Aliyev deployed over 1,000 Islamist mercenaries in the war against Karabagh Armenians. They were flown on civilian aircraft from Afghanistan to Azerbaijan. The mercenaries, which also included Arab veterans of the Afghan war (1979–89), took an active role in the Karabagh conflict. (Moscow News (9/13/00) A Bin Laden associate claimed that Bin Laden himself led mujaheddin in at least two Karabagh battles. (Associated Press 11/14/99)

Following the armistice that took hold in Karabagh in May 1994, most of the mujaheddin left Azerbaijan to fight in other hot spots, such as the North Caucasus and Balkans. Others, however, remained to establish what was soon described as "the new hub" for Islamist radicals that involved a network of training camps, mosques, charitable organizations and underground cells. Ibrahim Eidaous, later arrested in Europe by the FBI for his role in the 1998 embassy bombings, headed the Azerbaijani branch of Al Qaeda between 1995 and 1997. In 1997, radical Islamist groups with branches in Azerbaijan reportedly pledged their support for President Heydar Aliyev against Armenians, in exchange for a safe haven in Azerbaijan. (Strategic Policy 10/99; Ekho 9/1/01)

In August 1998, the Azerbaijani branch of the "Islamic Jihad" organization, which by then had merged with Osama Bin Laden's al Qaeda, reportedly coordinated the bombings of the U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania that killed 224 people and wounded nearly 4,600. The FBI was able to trace about 60 phone calls made from the satellite phone used by Bin Laden to his associates in Baku and from them to operatives in East Africa. The U.S. Embassy in Azerbaijan also feared an attack, but as a local radical claimed, they did not attack the Embassy so as "not to spoil their good relations in Azerbaijan." (Zerkalo 7/22/00; Bill of Indictment in U.S.A. vs. Bin Laden et. al. 4/01; Washington Post 5/3/01; Ekho 8/23/01)

Following the 1998 embassy bombings, Azerbaijan came under increased U.S. pressure to curtail radical Islamist activity on its territory. However, Azerbaijan refused to hand over suspected terrorists to the U.S., so as not to "earn the ire of Islamist fundamentalists", extending them instead to their native countries. One of the extradited terrorism suspects, Ahmad Salam Mabrouk, who at the time headed the local branch of Al Qaeda, was detained while trying to ac-

quire chemical and biological weapons in Azerbaijan. (Aviation Week & Space Technology 10/12/98; Agence France Presse 3/18/99; London's Sunday Times 7/18/99; Zerkalo 7/22/00; Ekho 8/29/01)

Azerbaijan, nevertheless, continues to be an attractive destination for the international terrorist networks, particularly those based in Afghanistan. In late 2000, head of the UNHCR mission in Azerbaijan Didier Laye noted that most asylum-seekers that arrive in Azerbaijan come from Afghanistan. (Azerbaijan and Afghanistan have no direct borders, are not ethnically related and there is no infrastructure in Azerbaijan to support these arrivals. In the absence of alternative reasons, Azerbaijan is an odd destination for Afghans.) In the Azeri capital, mosques influenced by Islamist radicals attract a large following. That following reportedly includes even some senior members of President Aliyev's staff. Most recently, the local media speculated that should Bin Laden be forced to flee Afghanistan, he may appear in Azerbaijan. Over the years, Bin Laden's sympathizers have moved out of Azerbaijan's capital, Baku, to establish camps in rural areas of the country, particularly in the remote mountainous areas in the largely Sunni Muslim north of the country. (Strategic Policy 10/99; Turan 11/21/00; Ekho 5/2/01)

In the words of one Islamic scholar, Azerbaijan is a part of the "Global Intifada" that also includes Palestine, the Balkans and Kashmir. As recently as a few weeks ago, sources in the Azerbaijani Ministry of National Security, cited by local media, confirmed that radical organizations, such as Bin Laden's Al Qaeda, continued to be active in Azerbaijan. Two weeks ago, Egyptian citizen Mahmoud Yaballah was arrested for his connection to the U.S. Embassy bombings, while trying to enter Canada after flying in from Azerbaijan. (Ekho 9/1/01)

Azerbaijan is an authoritarian state, where President and former KGB General Aliyev and his cohorts in effect control all spheres of life. The Aliyev government, which came to power by means of a military coup, has repeatedly banned political parties and media outlets, stolen elections and thrown thousands of its political opponents in jail. It is highly unlikely that groups such as Bin Laden's Al Qaeda could operate in Azerbaijan without at least some consent from President Aliyev. The Aliyev government is thus treading a thin line between international terrorists, whom it cultivated to fight its wars, and the international community, which can no longer ignore this reality.

SOURCES

In addition to reports in the above-noted and well recognized sources, such as AFP, AP, Aviation Week & Space Technology, The Times and Washington Post, this issue brief is based on the following additional sources:

Ekho and Zerkalo are leading Russian-language daily newspapers in Azerbaijan and can be found at www.zerkalo-daily.com and www.zerkalo.az. In August–September 2001, Ekho featured a series of articles on ties between Bin Laden and Azerbaijan written by its Deputy Editor Nair Aliyev.

Moscow News is a leading English-language liberal weekly newspaper published in Russia and can be found at www.mn.ru. In September 2000, it featured an article on connections between Chechnya, Azerbaijan, Afghanistan and the Islamist terrorist network, written by its Azerbaijan correspondent Sanobar Shermatova.

Strategic Policy (formerly Defense & Foreign Affairs) is a monthly international affairs report published in Alexandria, VA and

found at <http://www.strategicstudies.org/dfa.htm>. Its October 1999 issue featured an extensive article by Yossef Bodansky, Director of the U.S. Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare.

TransCaspian Project is an online reporting and analytical service on Caspian regional affairs (found at <http://www.transcaspian.ru>). Its October 3, 2000 report featured an analysis by Alexey Malashenko of the Moscow office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Turan is the leading news agency in Azerbaijan and can be found at <http://www.turaninfo.com>.

— NOVEMBER 5, 2001.

In the beginning of October the International Working Group on Search and Liberation of Missing Persons, Hostages and POWs of Karabagh Conflict once again visited Azerbaijan where it studied the issue of missing persons in the Nagorno Karabagh conflict. With the participation of the leadership of the Ministry of Defense, we discussed mechanisms for effective cooperation and drew up plans for future work.

We were pleased to see that the communication between people working on the issue of searching for the missing persons is improving and that a procedure for the return of prisoners of war has been established. The officials, who are responsible for dealing with the POWs no longer view them as "exchange material" and following check-ups they transfer intentional and unintentional violators of the border to the opposite side without preconditions.

In October, the responsible officers of the State Commission and the Defense Ministry of Azerbaijani Republic expressed their readiness to participate in a meeting of individuals, engaged in the search for missing persons and liberation of POWs of the Nagorno Karabagh conflict. The meeting was scheduled to take place in Germany on November 10-12 of 2001. The purpose of the meeting would be to intensify the humanitarian efforts in the search for missing persons. The consent to participate in the meeting reflected the fact that all structures on both the Armenian and the Azerbaijani side are ready to cooperate with the International Working Group. We were hoping that through direct contacts, citizens on both sides would be able to receive information about the destiny of their loved ones, possibly some would return home strengthening trust between the nations. Naturally, discussion of any political issues during that meeting was not envisaged and such a possibility was altogether excluded.

We have to state with great disappointment that on November 2 the Azerbaijani side refused to participate in that meeting.

Until this instance, in its long years of work on this conflict, the International Working Group has not seen any side back-track on agreements.

This time the Azerbaijani side is not keeping its promise and refuses to participate in the meeting in Germany, which, as we strongly believe, is a substantial blow to the joint efforts to establish a humanitarian dialogue.

Human values are always a priority in our work. In every conflict we are always on the side of people who are suffering from the conflict. As a result of the Azerbaijani authorities' refusal to participate in the meeting, it is these people that will suffer again. Neither the early notification of the Armenian side about the meeting, nor the pressure of internal destructive forces can justify their suffering.

We believe that refusing to participate in the meeting, the Azerbaijani authorities make our efforts ineffective and seriously lower the level of confidence that the victims of the conflict have in us. For these reasons, the International Working Group plans to hold consultations on whether our engagement in the region is still feasible.

SVETLANA GANNUSHKINA.
BERNHARD CLASEN.
PAATA ZAKAREISHVILI.

Throughout this process, I have worked closely with my Armenian Caucus Co-Chair JOE KNOLLENBERG, who also serves on the House Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee. I would like to thank him in particular for his efforts in ensuring a balanced approach to section 907.

Mr. Speaker, the bill's limited and conditional waiver to section 907 will enable the U.S. to effectively combat the war on terrorism while at the same time ensuring that Armenia and Armenian communities in the South Caucasus are safeguarded. The language makes it clear that no assistance can be provided to Azerbaijan unless the President determines and certifies that it is necessary to support counterterrorism and will not undermine the Nagorno-Karabagh peace process or be used for offensive purposes against Armenia or Armenian communities.

By maintaining section 907, we hold Azerbaijan accountable for their (ongoing blockades against Armenia and Nagorno Karabagh) actions. In addition, Azerbaijan's incessant war mongering is of great concern. Instead of taking a constructive approach, senior Azerbaijani officials continue to threaten military action despite calls from the OSCE to cease such provocations. Azerbaijan has also rejected U.S./European union calls for economic cooperation with Armenia. Moreover, progress in the Nagorno Karabagh peace talks have been hindered with President Heydar Aliyev backing away from commitments made in Paris, France and in Key West, Florida. I was also disappointed to learn that after agreeing to meet with their Nagorno Karabagh counterparts, Azerbaijan recently refused to participate in a meeting sponsored by the International Working Group on Search and Liberation of Missing Persons, Hostages and POWs of the Karabagh conflict. I ask unanimous consent to include the International Working Group's press release on this matter.

Mr. Speaker, I have seen a continued pattern whereby the Armenians reach out and take risks for peace and normal relations with its neighbors only to be rebuffed by Azerbaijan or Turkey. As my colleagues know, the resolution of conflicts in the Caucasus and the opening of closed borders are long-standing U.S. policy goals. In this regard, I expect to see some positive developments and, in fact, when Congress reviews the issue of the Section 907 waiver next year, renewal of any waiver should also be contingent upon Turkey's lifting its blockade of Armenia. Lifting the blockade is certainly in the U.S. national interest.

Mr. Speaker, I also strongly support the other Armenian-related provisions in the bill, including the \$90 million

earmark for Armenia and an additional \$4 million for foreign military financing, and \$300,000 for international military education training. Expanding our military cooperation is an important new step in U.S.-Armenian relations and I fully support it.

In this regard, I would note the importance for the United States to maintain parity in its military/security relationship between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Finally, I would also like to commend the Armenian Government as well as Armenian-American organizations and individuals who realized that conditional changes to section 907 were needed in the global war against terrorism.

Again, I want to thank the subcommittee members for what they did in this regard.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. WICKER), another member of the subcommittee.

Mr. WICKER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join my chairman and my friend, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), in supporting this bill and to urge my colleagues to adopt the conference report overwhelmingly.

Mr. Speaker, this is a bill that typically many people in the United States would just as soon we forget about. There are a lot of my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, who would go back to their town meetings and proudly tell some of their constituents that they never voted for any foreign assistance.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, those same people, when September 11 occurred and when we realized that the United States would have to drive the Taliban out of Afghanistan, that we would have to be engaged in that region, those very same Members who proudly said they never voted for a dime in foreign aid are glad that we have a friend or two in that region. They are proud and thankful that the United States has some influence there.

If by spending just a little money on international military education, demining activities, Peace Corps activities, UNICEF, child survival, HIV/AIDS, we have obtained a little influence in those regions, then I proudly say that that is money spent not only for doing good across the world, but also money spent in our national interest.

It has already been pointed out that this bill today, even with the small increase that we have, amounts to less than 1 percent of all of the money that the United States will spend for all purposes during this fiscal year.

□ 1630

And while some people around the country would not spend anything on this bill at all, I think most Americans, when informed that it is less than 1 percent, say that that is a good price to pay to extend our influence and our friendship around the world.

We are providing assistance in many good ways, Mr. Speaker. And make no mistake about it, we intend to do good with this bill and we are providing help to other nations. But the main reason we pass this bill today and the main reason that I vote for it as a fiscal conservative is that it is absolutely in the national interest of the United States of America for us to extend our influence around the globe.

I thank the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) and I thank the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) for their hard work.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), a distinguished member of the committee, a ranking member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, a former ranking member of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, first off, I want to commend the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) and the ranking member, the excellent ranking member of the committee for their strong bipartisan leadership which was so necessary to bring this bipartisan bill to the floor today.

It represent a great deal of work on their part and it was not without its difficult moments. I do intend to support the bill, although I am not thrilled with the way that some of the compromises were worked out, one would be the bill does contain the global gag rule, but I will talk about that in a moment.

The bill provides important foreign aid investments that will boost the economy of developing nations and take a giant step toward the alleviation of poverty.

On that note, Mr. Speaker, I want to say what I say every year when this bill comes up and when I was ranking member I did, and that is that all of us in our country are familiar with the great words of President Kennedy in his inaugural address which I, as a student, witnessed firsthand in the freezing cold in Washington, D.C. in 1960. In that address he said, and we all know these words to the people of America, "To the citizens of America, ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." We all know that. Everyone knows those words.

But does everyone know that the very next sentence in the speech, the inaugural address, the very next sentence says, "To the citizens of the world, ask not what America can do for you, but what we can do working together for the freedom of mankind."

And I believe, Mr. Speaker, that President Kennedy's words are the clarion call for the bill that is before us today. Now, more than ever, we need to cooperate internationally and to follow

the lead of President Kennedy. Since September 11 it is now, more than ever, important to address the root causes of instability in the world by working to alleviate poverty.

Alleviation of poverty would not have probably prevented what happened on September 11. But the alleviation of poverty will go a long way to alleviate also the fury of despair that springs from peoples who have no economic options. They have no recourse. They have no place to go. And so many of them are susceptible to demagogues. I think poverty produces violence throughout the world.

We do know that now more than ever it is a good investment for America to invest in stability in the world and in peace. Pope Paul, VI said, "If you want peace, work for justice." Part of that justice is, of course, economic justice. And this bill, with its investments across the world, helps to build the economies of a country, giving more economic opportunities to people, alleviating poverty, raising the standard of living, and again, hopefully defusing the fury of despair that is out there.

As I mentioned, Mr. Speaker, there are many excellent parts of the bill. The bill contains \$475 million for HIV/AIDS funding, which is a significant increase over the amount requested by the administration. It is still not enough, mind you. We have a tremendous opportunity as far as AIDS is concerned and the leadership that the United States provides.

If you combined AIDS and poverty, you have a terrible combination. But that is the combination that many people are faced with throughout the world.

The bill also contains \$50 million for the Global Health Trust Fund with an option for the President to invest \$50 million more. I certainly had hoped for more funding for the Global Health Trust Fund. The funding provided is increased and combined with the Labor HHS bill that we passed earlier today in the supplemental appropriations bill, will advance the fight against AIDS and encourage other nations to join in contributing funding, what we can do together with other countries.

I want to especially commend the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY), the ranking member on the committee for her work on increasing funding for basic education. She has been a champion on this throughout the years, and her leadership and the amount of money in the bill, \$165 million, is due to her efforts over the years, and certainly this year.

I mentioned about family planning. The bill contains a compromise on the family planning issue which enables international family planning to be funded at an increase in funding \$446.5 million, and UNFPA at \$34 million. This was a hard-fought compromise. But the price to pay for that is the

global guide rule is not in the conference report. As my colleagues will recall, one of the first acts, well, the first official act that President Bush took when he became President of the United States was to revoke the language that had been in our foreign ops bill from last year, which eliminated the global gag rule from our public policy. Unfortunately that was in the bill.

The current restrictions of the gag rule erect barriers to the promotion of civil societies abroad and the enhancement of women's participation in the political process and the credibility of the United States in the international arena. Having expressed that dismay, I still, of course, intend to support the bill.

I had also hoped for more funding for disaster assistance for El Salvador in response to the devastating earthquakes. The chairman was successful in providing \$100 million in the bill. Only a portion of this is new funding.

I look forward to working with the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) next year to provide needed construction funds to restore the infrastructure there.

There are many good things in the bill. I commend the leadership of the committee for increasing what we called when I was ranking member and the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. CALLAHAN) was chairman, the Callahan account to \$1.43 billion for the child survival account, which is a significant increase over the President's budget.

Mr. Speaker, with that, I want to commend the distinguished chairman and the ranking member for a really a good piece of work. It is not without its difficulties. It is, in some respects, a compromise, and in other areas, it really made good strides in helping reach our international goals to help reflect the leadership role of our country in the world.

Now, more than ever, in light of September 11, we see what a small investment this bill is in protecting our people at home by promoting stability and alleviation of poverty and eradication of disease, not only AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, et cetera.

So this is the Lord's work, in addition to which there is business in here, a trade promotion which is very important to our own economy. It is a good bill. I urge its support.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. THORNBERRY). The gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) has 2 minutes remaining. The gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) has 3 minutes remaining.

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF MEASURES TO BE CONSIDERED UNDER SUSPENSION OF THE RULES ON WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19, 2001

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, before I yield to the last speaker, I would like to make the following announcement

for the leadership. Pursuant to the notice requirements of House Resolution 314, I announce that the following measures will be considered under suspension of the rules On Wednesday, December 19, 2001: H.R. 3487; H.R. 3504; and H. Con. Res. 292.

Mr. Speaker, I yield the remaining time to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KIRK). All the speakers that we have had on this side have been members of our subcommittee. To close this debate, I would like to call on an individual who has, over the years, contributed a great deal to establishing the foreign policy for this country through the work he has done here as a staff member, and today as a member of the Committee on Armed Services, contributes greatly to the national security of this country.

Mr. KIRK. Mr. Speaker, I rise in very strong support for the Foreign Operations conference report, and I want to especially commend the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE) on his first bill, and the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. LOWEY) for her work.

While the foreign assistance program may not be the most popular, the events of September 11 underscore its importance. By supporting U.S. allies in a time of war against terror, we reduce U.S. casualties and shorten this conflict.

Speaking as a member of the Committee on Armed Services, I would liken this program to its predecessor, the Lend Lease Aid of World War II. Foreign assistance represents some of the most effective national defense dollars we provide, and also as a member of the Committee on the Budget, I will fight next year for function 150 funding to make this subcommittee's job easier.

I want to highlight two keys aspects of this bill. First, after great delay, this bill provides the full measure of assistance to our allies in the Middle East, including Israel. If there is anytime to show tangible support to Israel, it is now. Democracies should stick together and this bill does that.

I also want to commend the compromise to provide resources for family planning. The average Afghan woman has six children. Many young Afghans have few prospects and are tempted to extremism. This bill helps dry up the wells of discontent in central Asia, stabilizing new allies in the war on terror, both through the Agency for International Development, and especially through the UNFPA.

I want to commend the committee and staff of the subcommittee and urge rapid adoption of this bill.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this conference report. I want to commend Chairman KOLBE and our ranking member, Congresswoman LOWEY, for crafting a fair and comprehensive bill that addresses the needs of many nations throughout the world.

As conflict continues around the globe, from Northern Ireland to the Middle East, this bill has taken the appropriate steps to provide the tools for future prosperity and the potential for reconciliation.

As the cycle of violence continues in the Middle East, it is essential that we take the appropriate steps to facilitate an atmosphere of peace. The Middle East package in this appropriations bill takes great strides toward that end by including balanced funding for Israel and Egypt, as well as essential support for Jordan and Lebanon.

Specifically, this bill provides economic funding in the amount of \$720 million for Israel and \$655 million for Egypt. Additionally, it provides \$2.04 billion in military financing for Israel and \$1.3 billion for Egypt.

I would like to make a special note to commend Israel for being the only country to voluntarily request a reduction in its economic assistance. It is my sincere hope that this funding will foster an atmosphere for reconciliation that is so desperate needed. I would also like to thank the Committee for recognizing the work of the Galilee Society. The Galilee Society works with Israeli-Arabs and Israeli-Jews on projects that are in the mutual interest of both communities. From water purification to child immunizations, Galilee has looked beyond the religious and cultural differences that are often divisive in this part of the world, for the betterment of the society as a whole.

Furthermore, the funding provided for the International Fund for Ireland in the amount of \$25 million is a crucial element in facilitating an environment in Northern Ireland in which all sides can live together and prosper for the common good. With the peace process on tenuous ground, programs such as the International Fund for Ireland are essential for Irish youth from the North and from the Republic to work together to improve the future of their respective homelands.

On behalf of the Congressional Caucus on Bangladesh and the South Asian Community in New York's Seventh Congressional District, I would like to express our gratitude for \$23.5 million for International Disaster Assistance. Specifically, the \$5 million earmark for relief efforts in South Asia. The South Asian region has been decimated by earthquakes and flooding throughout this difficult year. The funding included in this bill will make great progress toward rebuilding the communities hardest hit by these tragic events.

I wish to thank the Committee for the funding provided for the United Nations Population Fund. This important funding will save the lives of thousands of women and children throughout the developing world.

Though I am pleased overall with the funding levels included in this bill, I have many concerns regarding the Andean Initiative.

Despite the fact that this funding is a vast improvement over Plan Colombia, I believe that it fails to address the needs of countries, such as Ecuador, to effectively combat the spillover effect from the drug war in Colombia. Furthermore, this initiative continues to provide financial and military assistance to the Colombian military. With an abysmal human rights record, the Colombian military should receive no support from the United States.

It is my hope that these funding deficiencies will be addressed and rectified in future foreign aid packages.

I congratulate Mr. KOLBE and Mrs. LOWEY for their diligent work on this conference report, and I urge my colleagues to support its passage.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, I will support this conference report with the express hope that we can do better next year. Foreign affairs is one of the most important investments we make as a nation, and that fact was underscored by the catastrophic events of September 11.

In his first public appearance after that tragic day, former President Jimmy Carter said on November 15 at the Carter Center that the chasm between rich and poor nations is "by far the most important single problem in the world." If more were done for the poor, he said, "there would be a lot less animosity and a lot less inclination to commit suicide to kill an American."

I congratulate my colleagues DOUG BEREUTER and HOWARD BERMAN for leading a letter to President Bush last month urging increased funding for the fiscal year 2003 function 150 International Affairs budget as part of our Nation's comprehensive response to the September 11 attack on America. Foreign assistance makes a difference. Since 1960, life expectancy in poor countries has risen from 45 to 64. Since 1970, the illiteracy rate has fallen from 47 percent to 25 percent. And, since 1980, the number of poor people has fallen by about 200 million—this at a time when world population increased by 1.6 billion. These are impressive gains, but the U.S. is not doing as much as we should.

Through the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and the Group of Seven, the world's richest economies have committed themselves to halving world poverty by 2015, and devoting .7 percent of their individual gross national products to overseas development assistance. As a percentage of national income, U.S. foreign aid has dropped steadily since the early 1990s, leaving the U.S. at the very bottom among the 22 OECD members, with barely .1 percent of GNP going to development assistance.

I commend to my colleagues the excellent Op-Ed I am submitting for the RECORD that was written by the CEO of Mercy Corps, headquartered in Portland, Oregon. In it, Neal Keny-Guyer states that "we have to speak plainly and forcibly about the resources required to confront the real battle. . . . As Congress ponders a blank check for military defenses, national and homeland security and increased intelligence capabilities, we have to significantly increase programs that attack the roots of terrorism."

I agree with Mr. Keny-Guyer's conclusion that, "We need to declare that it is a moral outrage to have the resources to reduce global poverty, but not the will to carry out change." I pledge to do what I can to work that will to strengthen U.S. foreign assistance along with my colleagues on the House International Relations Committee and through the FY03 budget process.

[From the Oregonian, Nov. 26, 2001]

HELP INJURED WORLD HEAL WITH A

SUSTAINED EFFORT

(By Neal Keny-Guyer)

All the military might that America can muster will not end terrorism. Not by itself. It requires a sustained assault against those conditions on which terrorism breeds and feeds: abject poverty and social inequality, mass ignorance and disease, despair and intolerance, violence and conflict.

The frontline battalions and brigades in this war are the humanitarian organizations such as Oxfam, CARE, Save the Children and Mercy Corps. Never has their role been more important. And never have these organizations been more challenged to think and act differently.

It is no longer enough to attack the physical conditions of poverty—income levels, adequate housing, health care, infant mortality rates. Pure acts of mercy and relief may help alleviate individual suffering and make the actors of charity feel better, but they do not redress or affect root causes and conditions. Even if we were to lower global infant mortality rates by 25 percent tomorrow (and, of course, we should pursue this noble goal) it is not clear at all that the world would be a more stable, less violent place. It is not self-evident that the forces of terror would be in retreat.

So what is it that we aid agencies should really be doing to make a difference?

First, we have to speak plainly and forcibly about the resources required to confront the real battle. Americans are generous people, but the U.S. government's global aid budget needs to increase significantly beyond the paltry level of less than 1 percent of our federal budget that we give today. Most industrialized nations devote far greater percentages of their budgets to international relief and development. As Congress ponders a blank check for military defenses, national and homeland security and increased intelligence capabilities, we have to significantly increase programs that attack the roots of terrorism. But let's make sure that we are not just throwing money at good causes or buying political and military cooperation through aid.

Second, international aid agencies and nongovernmental organizations have to replace traditional programs that meet basic human needs and promote development with more innovative initiatives. We need programs that both feed the hungry and teach agriculture skills and, at the same time, promote land reform and democratic participation. Health programs must provide not only basic maternal and child medical care, but also promote basic rights for women and children. We need micro-credit programs that do not simply provide credit for the poor but that also link, for example, Serbian producers with Albanian suppliers in Kosovo. We need humanitarian assistance programs that consciously promote, if not require, active cooperation among various religious factions in so many down trodden countries.

In Afghanistan today, the role of aid agencies is not simply to feed starving people or to rebuild war-torn buildings and infrastructure. Our real job is to provide aid in a way that truly builds a foundation for a peaceful, pluralistic future. Our multi-ethnic, multi-tribal teams need to represent a working model of cooperation and tolerance. We need to witness against human rights abuses and reprisals while we help create Afghan models for a healthy civil society.

Humanitarian and development assistance, always and everywhere, has to promote po-

litical participation among marginalized groups, respect for human rights and the rule of law. Aid agencies, always and everywhere, have to deliver assistance in the ways that build bridges of understanding and cooperation among religious, ethnic and cultural communities affected by conflict.

It is no longer enough to be simple angels of mercy. Aid agencies today have to be ambassadors of peace, reconciliation and hope—hope for more secure, just and meaningful future.

Finally aid agencies today need to find creative, compelling ways to connect their supporters with a deeper understanding of the world. We need to declare that it is a moral outrage to have the resources to reduce global poverty, but not the will to carry out change. We cannot stand on the sidelines of history while 50 million people are refugees from war and persecution, while 25 million children are killed, maimed or made homeless in a decade's time, while 35,000 children die each day from hunger and disease.

A seamless web of compassion connects homeless child in Poland with a hungry, desperate child in Afghanistan. And when one child is helped anywhere, all of God's children can rejoice. In this understanding, terrorism cannot win. In this discovery, in this conviction, a better America and a better world will emerge.

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, this Member rises in strong support for the conference report to H.R. 2506, the Foreign Operations appropriations bill. This Member would particularly like to thank the distinguished gentleman from Arizona (Mr. KOLBE), the Chairman of Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, for his efforts in bringing this conference report to the House Floor. Additionally, this Member would like to thank the distinguished gentleman from Florida (Mr. YOUNG) the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, for his continued leadership.

This Member would like to focus on three following parts of this conference report to H.R. 2506: the 150 International Affairs Budget, the Export-Import Bank (Ex-Im Bank), and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD).

First, the conference report to H.R. 2506 includes appropriations for the 150 International Affairs budget. Through the 150 International Affairs budget, the U.S. funds its programs which are critical to protecting U.S. security, economic, and diplomatic interests overseas. Indeed, these programs, which include U.S. humanitarian assistance programs; foreign economic and military assistance; public diplomacy efforts; and export promotion programs, are the tools which American diplomats, aid workers, and businesses use to promote the American story of freedom, democracy, and free markets. Without these tools, other countries and regimes have a greater opportunity to define in an unfavorable light what America stands for and to promote causes which are in direct opposition to U.S. national interests.

Mr. Speaker, this Member joined his colleague, the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. BERMAN), and 61 other distinguished Members of this Body from both sides of the aisle in sending to the President a letter which expresses support for an increase in the fiscal year 2003 150 International Affairs budget. Currently, funding for the 150 International Affairs budget comprises less than 1 percent

of the overall Federal budget, and these funds will play a very crucial role in the war on terrorism. Indeed, increasing the 150 International Affairs Budget will provide the Administration more flexibility to wage the diplomatic component of the war on terrorism.

Second, this Member supports the \$727 million appropriation for the program budget of the Ex-Im Bank and the \$63 million appropriation for its administrative budget. The Ex-Im Bank is an independent U.S. Government agency which provides direct loans to buyers of U.S. exports, guarantees to commercial loans to buyers of U.S. products, and insurance products which greatly benefit short-term small business sales. To illustrate the importance of the Ex-Im Bank, in FY 2000, it supported over \$15 billion worth of exports through loans, guarantees, and insurance for American businesses, both small and large.

As the Chairman of the House Financial Services Subcommittee on International Monetary Policy and Trade, this Member takes a particular interest in the appropriation for the Ex-Im Bank since he has introduced legislation (H.R. 2871) which would reauthorize the Ex-Im Bank for four years, until September 30, 2005. This legislation, the Export-Import Bank Reauthorization Act of 2001, passed the House Financial Services Committee on October 31, 2001. This Member is awaiting this legislation to be taken up on the House Floor. It should be noted that, at the request of certain U.S. Senators, the conference report includes an extension to March 31, 2001, for the authorization of the Ex-Im Bank.

With respect to the program budget, the conference report provides funding for Ex-Im Bank's loans, guarantees, and insurance products. In the administration's budget for fiscal year 2002, it reduced the program budget of the Ex-Im Bank to \$633 million. The fiscal year 2001 level for the program budget was \$865 million. This conference report restores some of the funding for the program budget by appropriating \$727 million for fiscal 2002. It is important to note that under the Export-Import Bank Reauthorization Act of 2001, the program budget is effectively authorized for such sums as are appropriated through fiscal year 2005.

With regard to the administrative budget for the Ex-Im Bank, this conference report appropriates \$63 million. This is an increase by \$1 million over the \$62 million level for the administrative budget for fiscal year 2002. Funding for the administrative budget is essential as the Ex-Im Bank is in a desperate need of a technology upgrade which would particularly benefit small business users of the Ex-Im Bank. To illustrate this importance, this Member's legislation, H.R. 2871, authorizes \$80 million for the administrative budget, which includes funding for information technology for fiscal year 2002, and indexes this authorization level for inflation for fiscal year 2003 through fiscal year 2005.

This Member would also like to note that this conference report contains an authorization of \$30 million to IFAD. IFAD provides loans and grants for agricultural and rural projects for the world's poor who live in such rural areas. Almost 75 percent of the world's 1.2 billion poorest people live in rural areas. Furthermore, approximately two-thirds of IFAD

loans are concessional. This authorization of \$30 million for the Fifth Replenishment for IFAD is identical to the Administration's request.

As the Chairman of the House Financial Services Subcommittee on International Monetary Policy and Trade, which has authorization responsibilities over the regional multilateral development banks including IFAD, this Member introduced H.R. 2604. This legislation reauthorizes the U.S. commitment to the Asian Development Fund and IFAD and sets forth additional policies regarding the other regional multilateral development institutions. This legislation, H.R. 2604, particularly addresses the subjects of HIV/AIDS, user fees, and transparency as it relates to the different regional multilateral development institutions.

This legislation, H.R. 2604, passed the House Financial Services Committee by a voice vote on October 31, 2001. This Member is awaiting this legislation to be taken up on the House Floor. It is important to note this conference report does not authorize the Asian Development Fund. The Administration had requested an authorization for a four year \$412 million U.S. contribution to the Seventh replenishment of the Asian Development Fund. Since this authorization is not in the conference report of H.R. 2506, it is imperative that the House Floor take up this Member's legislation, H.R. 2604, in the immediate future since it contains the authorization for the Asian Development Fund.

In conclusion, for the above reasons and many others, this Member urges his colleagues to support the conference report to H.R. 2506, the Foreign Operations appropriations bill.

Mr. FORBES. Mr. Speaker, I rise in reluctant support of the Fiscal Year 2002 Foreign Operations Appropriations Act. Though the bill includes language that gives me serious pause—in particular that related to the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), I will cast my vote in support of this legislation today to ensure our continued support for the people of Israel in their time of great crisis.

The people of Israel have lived with violence and unrest since the birth of their nation more than 50 years ago. But in recent years, it has appeared that with serious effort, a reasonable peace could be achieved in that region. Over the past several weeks, however, that dream of peace has crumbled. The leadership of the Palestinian Authority has been lacking either the wherewithal or the will to control the escalating violence and the Israeli leadership has retaliated in the only way it can see fit. Regrettably, innocent lives on both sides often pay the price for this impasse.

In this time of turmoil, Mr. Speaker, we must show our support for our ally, Israel. This bill fully funds the President's requests for foreign military financing and economic assistance to Israel. Thus, despite my objections to the UNFPA language and other provisions, I must support this funding bill.

The compromise language developed by the conferees increases the appropriation for the UNFPA by 40 percent over last year. In recent months, the UNFPA has come under increasing scrutiny for its policies that support coercive abortion policies in China, Peru, and elsewhere. Furthermore, as Congressional criti-

cism of their complicity in these inhumane policies has increased, the UNFPA has become less and less willing to provide information that Congress needs to conduct its required oversight. In fact, only two months ago, the UNFPA refused a request by the International Relations Committee to even testify on this matter.

There can be little doubt that coercive abortion and one-child policies prey upon the most vulnerable people in our global society. They force young women, disabled women, and poor women into giving up the families that they want through abortion or infanticide. They lead to the deaths of countless innocent children all around the world. By intentionally ignoring that these policies exist, the UNFPA passively supports them. And, this is a practice that must stop.

While I am opposed to the bottom-line increase in funding for UNFPA, I am encouraged by the fact that this funding level is meant to be an appropriations ceiling. I am very hopeful that the President and his Administration will use the discretion that this mechanism provides to ensure that funding is commensurate only with the appropriate purposes of this program and that it is not used to support these despicable family planning programs.

In addition to my concerns about the UNFPA funding, Mr. Speaker, I am also skeptical that it is appropriate to be increasing our international funding obligations to this extent at a time when our economy is still demonstrating a marked sluggishness. While I recognize the importance of remaining fully engaged in the international community in times of peace as well as in times of war, I am not certain that the increase in funding in this bill represents the appropriate balance of our national priorities. In fact, this funding bill includes a nearly \$2 million increase over the funding level requested by the President.

Mr. Speaker, I do appreciate the difficult task that the conferees had in forging this compromise legislation. And, though I am conflicted on the merits of that compromise, I will support it today.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of this bi-partisan conference report. I would like to thank my colleagues, Chairman KOLBE and Ranking Member LOWEY for their tireless work and impressive effort in producing this comprehensive report. I would also like to specifically thank Chairman YOUNG and Ranking Member OBEY for their support on a number of important issues.

Thanks to the hard work of this subcommittee and with the direction of Chairman YOUNG, over 250,000 "at risk" children in Bosnia will now be helped. Since the tragic war in Bosnia, it is estimated that 13 percent of children in Bosnia and Herzegovina live in extreme poverty and 2,673 children do not have parental care. These children need and deserve a stable, safe environment where they can grow up and enjoy the support of a loving family.

I am proud that my colleagues have addressed this need and have appropriated \$3 million to help these children, many of whom live in terrible conditions.

I would also like to thank my colleagues for the increase of funding for the U.N. Population

Fund to \$34 million—a \$12.5 million increase from last year! What a victory for women and children around the world! Thanks to Chairman KOLBE and Ranking Member LOWEY in the House and Senator LEAHY in the Senate, we can now directly fund effective modern contraception for nearly 1.6 million women in low-income countries, prevent 780,000 unintended pregnancies, prevent 365,000 unwanted births, help women avoid over 312,000 abortions, prevent thousands of maternal and child deaths, reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS infection in dozens of high-risk countries, and help poor countries develop stable economies.

This is truly a cause for celebration!

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 2506, the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill for FY 2002. With American forces engaged in battle, it is essential that Congress provide the Administration the tools it needs to meet our foreign policy objectives, which include playing an active role in the Middle East peace process.

The events of the past weeks have again reminded us the troubled waters through which we must tread in the Middle East. The cycle of violence that has embroiled the region for the last 14 months has in no way helped Israel or the Palestinians. The longer this violence persists, the worse it will be for all parties, including the United States. Already, American credibility vis-a-vis the peace process has been seriously questioned.

The violence unleashed in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, and elsewhere by Palestinian suicide bombers is wrong. There is no justification for killing innocent civilians, and the deaths of 27 Israeli citizens is outrageous and must be condemned by all. I fail to comprehend what would compel a young man to strap explosives to his body, and surrender his life in an immoral, misguided effort to kill innocent people.

In response to the suicide attacks in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, Israel has again launched a powerful military response intended to scare Palestinians into submission. This strike has caused numerous Palestinian casualties, and destroyed Yasser Arafat's headquarters. While Israel intended to send a message to Palestinians, I do not think the message they sent—delivered from helicopter gunships and F-16's—is one they wanted the Palestinians to receive. A commentator drew an apt parallel when he noted that if the English bombed Belfast and Dublin in response to an IRA attack, the Irish would hardly be more eager to work with the British on matters of security.

Mr. Speaker, the Israel-Palestinian conflict is headed toward a precipice, which poses a grave danger to Israel, the Palestinians, and the United States. On November 19, Secretary Colin Powell indicated a renewed, active U.S. initiative to end violence and get the peace process back on track. Powell noted that obtaining a just and lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians is our central diplomatic challenge, and that our vision is to help build, "a region where Israelis and Arabs can live together in peace, security, and dignity." He also stated that both parties must take steps, some painful, in order to reach a just conclusion to this conflict.

This is not the time for our country and this body to play the role of partisan. We must not

be pro or anti-Palestinian, nor must we be pro or anti-Israeli. We must sanction the conduct of those who insight violence or dictate their will by force alone, and criticize any activity that undermines confidence, security, and peace. We must urge both parties to rededicate themselves to the path of peace. This is the only path in the long-term interest of the United States, and is certainly the only one offering real security for Israel and statehood for the Palestinians.

Mr. Speaker, as the Secretary Powell noted, United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, Camp David, and all agreements made in the last decade have spelled out the principles upon which a final peace settlement will be made. Israel will get security and the opportunity to forge economic, political, and cultural ties to its neighbors; Palestinians will get an independent state. Israeli and Palestinian citizens alike will all have the opportunity to live normal lives. Both parties win. Only rejectionist and extremists lose.

The first step to peace is implementing the Mitchell Committee Report. The Mitchell Committee studied the ongoing violence over a period of months, and the report is submitted including objective findings and constructive recommendations as to how to end the violence and rebuild confidence that will enable the parties to return to the negotiating table. Both Israel and the Palestinians have accepted the Mitchell Committee Report. It alone offers the one thing that is most needed today: hope.

Mr. Speaker, I would note that I have introduced H. Con. Res. 253, a resolution which expresses support for the Mitchell Commission report. It is supported by the Administration, and I would hope that more members would register their support for the peace process by endorsing Mitchell and cosponsoring H. Con. Res. 253.

"I truly tell you: we have before us today an opportunity for peace which time will never repeat and we must seize it if we are really serious in struggling for peace. If we weaken or fritter away this opportunity we shall end in a new blood-bath; he who has conspired to lose it will have the curse of humanity and history on his head."

Mr. Speaker, these are the words of Anwar Sadat spoken to the Knesset in 1977. Sadat, like Yitzak Rabin, paid the highest personal price for peace. Let us remember them, and champion efforts to bring about a just and lasting peace. Now is a historic opportunity for between peace and war. Let's be on the right side of history.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, while I support H.R. 2506, the Foreign Operations Conference Report, regrettably, the conference report before us does significantly damage the Annual Drug Certification Process. The certification process is an important Reagan era tool to garner the cooperation of major drug producer and major drug transit nations that want the benefit of US aid.

It is simply, the Drug Certification Procedure mandate that before a major illicit drug producer or major transit nation is entitled to our foreign aid, the President must certify to Congress that such nation is "fully cooperating" with us in our fight against these illicit drugs.

As we full know today illicit drugs helped finance global terrorism whether Bin Laden in

Afghanistan, or the FARC and ELN in Colombia, or other terrorist networks around the world.

We need the full cooperation of these major producer and/or major transit nations to stop the flow of drugs here, and the profits to the global terrorists. Now is not the time to weaken American law in the fight against illicit drugs and global terrorism.

The Assistant Secretary of State for International Narcotics Control, Randy Beers, who served both Clinton and now under Bush, has said of the drug certification process that it is "a policy tool which is controversial, not because it has failed, but because it is working."

Yet in this year's annual foreign operations appropriations bill Secretary Beers negotiated a major change in the drug certification law, without our input that lowered the bar ("demonstrably fails") on the cooperation we are entitled to receive from these nations, which makes it harder for us to fight illicit drugs abroad.

We question, why now when we are in the fight of our lives against global terrorism would we want to surrender one of the most effective tools against the source of much of its financing, the illicit drug trade. It makes no sense.

It is the wrong message at the wrong time especially now as we fight global terrorism often financed by the illicit drug trade.

Accordingly, I urge Mr. KOLBE's Committee to re-examine the importance of preserving the Drug Certification Process.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of this conference report.

I want to commend Chairman KOLBE and my friend NITA LOWEY for negotiating a fair and comprehensive conference report that reflects the new challenges that we face in working with the international community.

On behalf of the Bangladeshi caucus and the entire South Asian Community in my district, I would like to express our most sincere gratitude for \$235.5 million in funding for International Disaster assistance with at least \$5 million going toward South Asia.

The South Asian region has been decimated by earthquakes and flooding throughout this difficult year.

The funding provided in this bill will make great strides toward rebuilding the communities hardest hit by these tragic events.

I would also like to express my gratitude for the inclusion of \$25 million for the International Fund for Ireland.

The funding provided for IFI is crucial to facilitating an environment in Northern Ireland in which all sides can work together on issues of mutual concern and benefit.

Finally, I wish to thank the Committee for the funding provided for the United Nations Population Fund.

This important funding will save the lives of thousands of women and children throughout the world.

The projects of which I am supportive are too numerous to mention in such a short time, but suffice it to say that it is a privilege to vote in favor of this conference report.

Mr. SCHAFFER. Mr. Speaker, the Conference report related to foreign operations—currently under consideration by the House—contains an improved level of funding for Ukraine. These funds move us closer to

achieving America's objectives there. The Conferees of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill are to be commended for realizing the strategic and economic significance of Ukraine to the United States and for favorably judging my recommendation for higher funding levels.

As you may recall, Mr. Speaker, I rose in opposition to the actions previously taken by this House when it funded America's activities in Ukraine at an amount substantially lower than that recommended by the president. The president's budget called for an expenditure of \$169 million for fiscal year 2002. The House approved an amount not to exceed \$124 million.

Upon passage of the House bill on foreign operations appropriations, I petitioned our colleagues in the Senate to set in its companion appropriations bill a figure for Ukraine in excess of the president's recommendation. My appeal was warmly received, and I am pleased by the Senate's reply in proposing the Ukrainian line be funded at no less than \$180 million.

The figure proposed in the report before us now is \$154 million which, while admittedly subordinate to our president's more prudent recommendation, strikes me as a reasonable compromise between the two chambers of the Congress and certainly worthy of our approval today. I appreciate the efforts of the House conferees to accommodate such a significant portion of my request, and I hereby pledge my continuing effort to monitor the efficacy of these scarce resources. I intend to continue in my capacity as Co-chairman of the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus, to oversee and judge the utility of the programs enabled by the generosity of the American people through the Congress. I will endeavor to routinely report to the subcommittee chairman and our colleagues in general regularly the conclusions of my findings. It is my earnest desire that my observations, and those of the Caucus, weigh heavily in the formulation of future budgets regarding our interests in Ukraine. Moreover, I am grateful for the Subcommittee Chairman's receptivity to this proposition.

Funding proposed in the current bill comes at a very critical point in Ukraine's development as a democracy. In March 2002, Ukrainians will have the opportunity to elect a new parliament. There is great concern internationally for the strong possibility of election tampering, outright fraud during this election, and compromised results. If Ukraine is to stay the course toward a mature democracy, the upcoming elections must yield a fair and accurate representation of popular intentions, attitudes, opinions, and beliefs.

Mr. Speaker, I warrant it the duty of the United States to promote democracy and freedom whenever and wherever possible. I have been this institution's strongest supporter of Ukraine in its struggle for democracy throughout my tenure in congress and long before my service here. I regard America's support integral to the growth of democracy, free-markets and property rights in Ukraine. Without question, America's continued help will hasten Ukraine overcoming the various threats of domestic corruption. Our financial assistance will help sustain Ukraine's unmistakable progress in achieving its place among the global community of democratic nations.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) is working in Ukraine, representing America's interests by coordinating many democracy-building projects. In fact, I have made various recommendations to USAID for specific programs designed to promote democracy and citizenship, and I'm confident this appropriation will foster timely development of these important projects.

This election will be a thorough test of USAID's effectiveness in Ukraine. If the elections are to be genuine, USAID must coordinate not only its assets for poll watching, but must preempt election fraud by guiding Ukrainian voting officials in providing ballot security, voter education, and legal compliance.

Prior to and throughout my years in Congress, I have had the privilege of meeting many Ukrainians and Ukrainian leaders. These people, whose history of democracy is short, understand its significance better than many who have enjoyed a lifetime in a free society.

It has been ten years since Ukraine discarded the yoke of Society-style communism and oppression and embarked on the road to freedom. The progress of reforms has been slow, to be sure, but this cannot deter American assistance. The case is now stronger than ever for assertive American assistance and leadership in Ukraine.

Despite slow reforms, Ukraine has consistently demonstrated its commitment to building alliances with the western world. Ukraine has supported the U.S. in various peacekeeping missions. Ukraine has been completely cooperative in non-proliferation issues and in nuclear disarmament. Ukraine supported America in the war on terrorism, opening air space and providing ground transportation for coalition supplies. Most recently, Ukraine has supported President Bush in withdrawing from the ABM Treaty, calling it a morally justified decision, and the treaty obsolete.

The Ukrainian people are resolute in their desire to live in a democracy and enjoy national self-determination. The United States stands to benefit greatly from a strong alliance with Ukraine, economically, strategically, and culturally. American support is paramount in the achievement of these important goals and I urge the House to look favorably on this particular portion of the Committee report.

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, I urge Members to support this conference report.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the conference report.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the conference report.

Pursuant to clause 10 of rule XX, the yeas and nays are ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 357, nays 66, not voting 11, as follows:

[Roll No. 505]

YEAS—357

Abercrombie	Andrews	Baldacci
Ackerman	Armey	Baldwin
Aderholt	Baca	Ballenger
Allen	Baird	Barrett

Barton	Frank	Mascara
Bass	Frelinghuysen	Matheson
Becerra	Frost	Matsui
Bentsen	Gallegly	McCarthy (MO)
Bereuter	Ganske	McCarthy (NY)
Berkley	Gekas	McCollum
Berman	Gephardt	McCrery
Biggert	Gibbons	McDermott
Billakis	Gilchrest	McGovern
Bishop	Gillmor	McHugh
Blagojevich	Gilman	McIntyre
Blumenauer	Gonzalez	McKeon
Boehlert	Gordon	McKinney
Boehner	Goss	McNulty
Bonilla	Graham	Meehan
Bonior	Granger	Meeks (NY)
Bono	Graves	Menendez
Boozman	Green (TX)	Millender
Borski	Green (WI)	McDonald
Boswell	Greenwood	Miller, Dan
Boucher	Grucci	Miller, Gary
Boyd	Gutierrez	Miller, George
Brady (PA)	Harman	Mink
Brady (TX)	Hart	Mollohan
Brown (FL)	Hastings (WA)	Moore
Brown (OH)	Hill	Moran (KS)
Brown (SC)	Hilliard	Moran (VA)
Bryant	Hinchey	Morella
Burr	Hinojosa	Murtha
Burton	Hobson	Nadler
Buyer	Hoeffel	Napolitano
Callahan	Hoekstra	Neal
Calvert	Holden	Nethercutt
Camp	Holt	Ney
Cannon	Honda	Northup
Cantor	Hooley	Nussle
Capito	Horn	Oberstar
Capps	Houghton	Obey
Capuano	Hoyer	Oliver
Cardin	Hulshof	Ortiz
Carson (IN)	Hunter	Osborne
Carson (OK)	Hyde	Ose
Castle	Inslee	Oxley
Chambliss	Isakson	Pallone
Clay	Israel	Pascarell
Clayton	Issa	Pastor
Clyburn	Istook	Payne
Coble	Jackson (IL)	Pelosi
Collins	Jackson-Lee	Peterson (MN)
Condit	(TX)	Peterson (PA)
Conyers	Jefferson	Phelps
Cooksey	Jenkins	Pickering
Costello	John	Pomeroy
Cox	Johnson (CT)	Portman
Coyne	Johnson (IL)	Price (NC)
Cramer	Johnson, E. B.	Pryce (OH)
Crenshaw	Jones (OH)	Putnam
Crowley	Kanjorski	Quinn
Culberson	Kaptur	Radanovich
Cummings	Keller	Rahall
Davis (CA)	Kelly	Ramstad
Davis (FL)	Kennedy (RI)	Rangel
Davis (IL)	Kildee	Regula
Davis, Tom	Kilpatrick	Rehberg
DeFazio	Kind (WI)	Reyes
DeGette	King (NY)	Reynolds
DeLauro	Kingston	Riley
DeLay	Kirk	Rivers
Deutsch	Klecza	Rodriguez
Diaz-Balart	Knollenberg	Rogers (KY)
Dicks	Kolbe	Rogers (MI)
Dingell	Kucinich	Ros-Lehtinen
Doggett	LaFalce	Ross
Dooley	LaHood	Rothman
Doyle	Lampson	Roukema
Dreier	Langevin	Roybal-Allard
Dunn	Lantos	Rush
Edwards	Larsen (WA)	Ryan (WI)
Ehlers	Larson (CT)	Sabo
Ehrlich	Latham	Sanchez
Emerson	LaTourette	Sanders
Engel	Leach	Sandlin
English	Lee	Sawyer
Eshoo	Levin	Saxton
Etheridge	Lewis (CA)	Schaffer
Evans	Lewis (GA)	Schakowsky
Farr	Linder	Schiff
Fattah	Lipinski	Schrock
Ferguson	LoBiondo	Scott
Filner	Lofgren	Serrano
Fletcher	Lowe	Sessions
Foley	Lucas (KY)	Shadegg
Forbes	Lynch	Shaw
Ford	Maloney (CT)	Shays
Fossella	Maloney (NY)	Sherman
	Markey	Sherwood

Shimkus	Terry	Walsh
Shows	Thomas	Waters
Simmons	Thompson (CA)	Watkins (OK)
Simpson	Thompson (MS)	Watson (CA)
Skeen	Thornberry	Watt (NC)
Skelton	Thune	Watts (OK)
Slaughter	Thurman	Waxman
Smith (TX)	Tiahrt	Weiner
Smith (WA)	Tiberi	Weldon (PA)
Snyder	Tierney	Weller
Solis	Towns	Whitfield
Souder	Trafigant	Wicker
Spratt	Turner	Wilson (NM)
Stenholm	Udall (CO)	Wilson (SC)
Strickland	Udall (NM)	Wolf
Stupak	Upton	Woolsey
Sununu	Velázquez	Wu
Sweeney	Visclosky	Wynn
Tauscher	Vitter	Young (FL)
Tauzin	Walden	

NAYS—66

Akin	Hansen	Pence
Bachus	Hayes	Petri
Barcia	Hayworth	Pitts
Barr	Hefley	Platts
Bartlett	Herger	Pombo
Berry	Hilleary	Roemer
Blunt	Hostettler	Rohrabacher
Chabot	Johnson, Sam	Royce
Combest	Jones (NC)	Ryun (KS)
Crane	Kennedy (MN)	Sensenbrenner
Cunningham	Kerns	Shuster
Davis, Jo Ann	Largent	Smith (MI)
Deal	Lewis (KY)	Smith (NJ)
DeMint	Lucas (OK)	Stearns
Doolittle	Manzullo	Stump
Duncan	McInnis	Tancredo
Everett	Mica	Tanner
Flake	Miller, Jeff	Taylor (MS)
Goode	Myrick	Taylor (NC)
Goodlatte	Norwood	Toomey
Gutknecht	Otter	Wamp
Hall (TX)	Paul	Weldon (FL)

NOT VOTING—11

Baker	Hastings (FL)	Stark
Clement	Luther	Wexler
Cubin	Meek (FL)	Young (AK)
Hall (OH)	Owens	

□ 1704

Messrs. JONES of North Carolina, HANSEN, LEWIS of Kentucky, HILLEARY, BACHUS, LUCAS of Oklahoma, SAM JOHNSON of Texas, HAYWORTH, EVERETT, SHUSTER, and LARGENT changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

So the conference report was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Ms. Wanda Evans, one of his secretaries.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, on December 4 and December 5, I was testifying in Federal bankruptcy court on behalf of the steelworkers and retirees of the LTV Steel Company, and was unable to cast votes here. If present, I would have voted “yes” on all of the following: Rollcall No. 466, H.R. 3323; rollcall No. 467, H.R. 3391; rollcall No. 468, S. 494; rollcall No. 469, H. Con. Res. 242; rollcall No. 470, H.R. 3348; rollcall